

VOLUME NO. 6

THE
CLASSICAL
JOURNAL

MARCH 1959

March 1959

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

vol 54 | no 6

Amplification and High Fidelity in the Greek Theater: HENRY C. MONTGOMERY	242
THE FORUM	246
Program of the Fifty-Fifth CAMWS Meeting	253
Julian and the Men of Letters: STEBELTON H. NULME	257
WE SEE BY THE PAPERS	267
BOOK REVIEWS	270
CAMWS Treasurer's Report: JOHN N. HOUGH	287
Announcements	287

EDITORIAL BOARD

editor-in-chief: NORMAN T. PRATT, Jr., Indiana University
for the atlantic states: FRANKLIN B. KRAUSS, Pennsylvania State University
for new england: JAMES A. NOTOPoulos, Trinity College
for the pacific states: W. M. GREEN, University of California
book reviews: VERNE B. SCHUMAN, Indiana University
the forum: MRS. MARGARET M. FORBES, University of Minnesota
we see by the papers: GRAVES THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College

BUSINESS STAFF

managing editor: MRS. MILDRED H. MOSLEY, Mundelein College
circulation manager: JOHN N. HOUGH, University of Colorado

PRODUCTION

design consultant: WILLIAM FRIEDMAN, Albright Art Gallery
technical assistant: RONALD W. STERKEL, Indiana University
printer: LLOYD HOLLISTER INC., Wilmette, Illinois

The Classical Journal is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc., with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May). Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, Boulder, Colo., with an additional entry at Wilmette, Ill., on September 14, 1953. Entered under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1952.



photograph from the Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell' Italia Antica

Temple as seen from the Town Gate, Segesta

AMPLIFICATION AND HIGH FIDELITY IN THE GREEK THEATER

HENRY C. MONTGOMERY

THE *theatron*, or theater, is literally a place for seeing, and an *auditorium* a place for hearing. Under reasonably favorable conditions these purposes can be achieved, but when the theater-auditorium is of outsize capacity the visibility is naturally lessened and for many in the audience the auditory function would, supposedly, practically reach the vanishing point.

Greek theaters in antiquity were in many instances of huge proportions but, under ideal conditions of occupancy and weather, the acoustical properties approach perfection by modern tests. We know that the theater of Dionysus in Athens could seat 17,000 spectators, and that the theater in Epidaurus can still accommodate 14,000. In his work on ancient Greek theaters, published in 1886, Albert Müller cites estimates of 44,000 seats for the theater at Megalopolis and the astronomical figure of 56,700 for the theater at Ephesus.¹ Even assuming something wrong in the calculations for Megalopolis and Ephesus (but if the dimensions listed by Müller are correct, so are the estimates of capacities) the theaters at Athens, Epidaurus and elsewhere are of such magnitude as to make audibility a matter of sheer incredibility. Yet we know that the Greek National Theater projects with perfect satisfaction at Athens, Epidaurus and Delphi and — when the theaters are empty and the weather favorable — we hear that a coin can be heard dropping on the altar stone in the orchestra circle, that reading in a

conversational tone at the Odeion in Athens can be heard from the top row of the auditorium, that a whispered conversation is audible from the "stage" to auditorium at Epidaurus — at least in the motion picture *Boy on a Dolphin* — and that even the sound of a sleeve being brushed can be heard at this last named site! Apparently, then, the ancient theater assured audiences of essentially good hearing. But a full house of nervous and critical auditors is quite a different matter from a controlled experiment today. There were a number of acoustical devices planned for amplification in antiquity and it would seem that they were useful and necessary.

A number of these acoustical factors are well known. Undoubtedly the first Greek theaters were built on hillsides in an excavated semicircle as a matter of expediency. But when stone seats were added it was found that they should be so constructed that if a line were drawn touching the lowest and top rows, it should also touch the front angles of all the rows. Our authority on this method of construction is Vitruvius² who compares the flow of the voice to that of the innumerable circular undulations which spread from the spot where a stone is thrown into standing water. But, adds Vitruvius, the watery circles move only horizontally while the voice moves both horizontally and vertically. Thus there should be no obstructions to hinder the constant outward and upward flow of the voice. At any rate,

the concave semicircle of the Greek theater was most certainly an acoustical aid in itself.

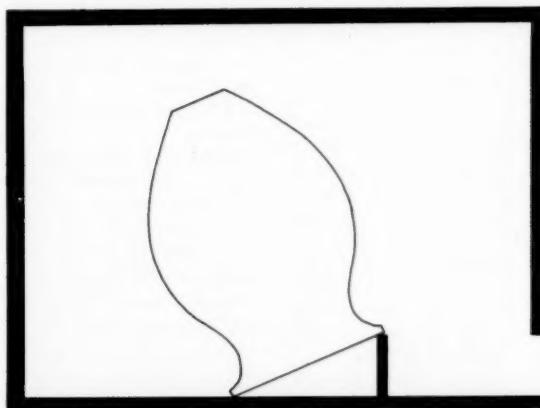
Another acoustical device that was not originally intended as such was the *skene*, or background construction of the stage. Whatever the variations in construction, the hard surface of the paneling would tend to project the actor's voice toward the auditorium and it has been suggested that the hard surface of the orchestra floor would also help to reflect the sound. The assistance of background reflecting surfaces was known and utilized by Roman singers who even turned toward the wooden *scena*, and every musician today is aware of the disadvantages of sound-absorbent materials behind or around him, while good reflecting surfaces are fully appreciated.

The make-up mask employed by Thespis was a far cry from the grotesque comic and tragic masks of later Greek, Hellenistic and Roman theaters. A notable feature of the later mask was the large opening of the mouth. It was, in fact, a built-in megaphone and here, again, an earlier function seems to have been turned toward acoustical amplification. The mask, deliberately or not, was certainly a boon to the actor for

voice projection and initial concentration.

And then there is the actor himself. For the exacting roles of the classic repertory there can be no doubt that the actor was a highly selected product of natural endowments and long and rigorous training. For lack of specific information we can simply turn to his close counterpart, the opera singer of the modern stage. Certain physical attributes are essential from the start and without these no amount of exercise and training can bring about success. Next comes the long, intensive and expensive training in diction, placement and amplification of tones. There is no reason to doubt that the dramatic singer-actor of antiquity was, by nature and training, an additional value in acoustical equipment.

Thus far the emphasis has been on power, on amplification. The matter of quality of tone has not been mentioned but here, too, the sagacious Greeks approached a vital problem with an awareness and analysis that would seem almost unbelievable were it not for indisputable documentation. The remarkable device which resulted is here explained and presented for more general notice than it has received (see diagram).³



The Greek theater was not merely a speaking theater but a theater of words and music. The exact nature of tone intervals and of Greek scales is not known. And, obviously, it can never be known. But for our purposes it is only necessary to know that they did exist and that adequate modern parallels can be drawn.

Again, the documentary evidence is from Vitruvius (5. 5. 1-8) who, although an architect, transmits so much of our information on ancient music and, especially, on ancient music in the theater. His approach is that of the acoustical engineer and architect and his subject that of Sounding Vases in Theaters. These are his comments:

... bronze vases are to be made in mathematical ratios corresponding with the size of the theatre. They are to be so made that, when they are touched, they can make a sound from one to another of a fourth, a fifth and so on to the second octave. Then compartments are made among the seats of the theatre, and the vases are to be so placed there that they do not touch the wall, and have an empty space around them and above. They are to be placed upside down. On the side looking towards the stage, they are to have wedges put under them not less than half a foot high. Against these cavities openings are to be left in the faces of the lower steps two feet long and half a foot high. . . .

So much for the type of the vases and their placement. There are to be thirteen of these acoustical cells in smaller theaters, arranged transversely. The two outermost cells should have vases tuned to resonate in response to the highest note of one of the Greek scales, the next two tuned to the next interval, and so on to the single central vase to be tuned to the lowest note of the scale. In a small theater only one row of vases, tuned to the enharmonic scale, would be necessary. But in larger Greek theaters there should be three rows of thirteen vases, and two scales should be added, the chromatic and diatonic. As we have said, the exact nature of these scales is not known, but we can supply, for a reasonable comparison, the enharmonic minor, the

diatonic, and whole-tone scales of modern music. And, anyhow, this is not the significant factor. What was the purpose of such devices? Vitruvius continues (5. 5. 3): "Thus by this calculation the voice, spreading from the stage as from a centre and striking by its contact the hollows of the several vases, will arouse an increased clearness of sound, and, by the concord, a consonance harmonising with itself."

The goal was, then, one of improvement in the tonal quality as well as in amplification. Without stretching matters in the slightest it is precisely the goal, sought by mechanical rather than electronic devices, of what we call today "high fidelity." The vases tuned for the highest sounds were, for all practical purposes, the equivalent of the small speakers known now as "tweeters" and the large central vase would correspond to the large speaker known as the "woofer."

Naturally one wonders if such acoustical attempts were successful and if Greek theaters still exist where there is evidence of the construction as defined by Vitruvius. No bronze vases have been found and that is not to be expected, but earthenware vases, apparently for this purpose, have been found in ancient theaters.⁴ Vitruvius (5. 5. 8) tells us that when Lucius Mummius destroyed the theater at Corinth these bronze vessels of the theater were transported to Rome and dedicated at the temple of Luna — a temple to be destroyed later in the Neronian fire.

For archeological evidence the authority is Albert Müller. At Gerasa Müller describes the theater as having twenty acoustical niches, placed near the *vomitoria* in the upper part of the auditorium. At Aizanoi in Cilicia are twelve pairs of niches in the supporting wall of the uppermost row of seats. But at Hieraptyna and Gortyn in Crete the theaters have thirteen niches each — just the prescription of Vitruvius — and at Lyktos, also in Crete, are three rows of thirteen niches each.⁵ If Vitruvius got his information from Greek

sources it is likely that the Cretan theaters were the models in mind, or it may have been that Vitruvius used these as models from his own observations. Müller does not give precise details concerning the placement and construction of the acoustic cells. Until such information is available, we can only assume that they are located, in single or triple rows, among, or between, the seats; *inter sedes*, as Vitruvius says. Also to be investigated at the various sites are such questions as when the device was put into practice, and whether its use depended upon the physical nature of the location.

The very concepts of visibility, amplification, not to mention high fidelity, were forgotten after the fall of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome. The revival of the theater and drama in the Renaissance brought about a theater that was adequate for only the privileged few. The chicken coop and horseshoe opera house continued, in fact, to be the standard until quite recent times. The first theater based on democratic principles of seeing and hearing was the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth, Germany, dedicated in 1886 and designed by the man who planned to revive the Greek drama in all its original glory, the composer Richard Wagner.

Today acoustical engineering is indispensable in the planning of any the-

ater, auditorium and music hall. Electronic amplification is often used to correct poor constructional planning. But more and more the attention of the acoustical engineer, as a consultant to the architect, is turned toward sound basic construction. The Greek theater will not be identically copied, although it can be with astonishing success. And it was the dramatic critic, Walter Kerr, who remarked after witnessing a modern performance of an ancient Greek play at Epidaurus:⁶ "The curve of the auditorium surrounds the acting area without leaning over it: The performers have room in which to perform, the customers have room in which to breathe. The balance between detachment and participation is absolute: The root idea of 'theater' is miraculously achieved. . . . These are the physical circumstances, after all, that gave swift birth to a body of drama which has never really been improved upon."

Miami University

¹ *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886) p. 47, notes 1 and 2.

² *On Architecture*, trans. Frank Granger (Loeb Library) 5. 3. 4-7.

³ See the discussion of the device in Müller, *Lehrbuch*, pp. 42-46.

⁴ Granger, vol. 1. p. 277. note; see Vitruvius 5. 5. 8.

⁵ *Lehrbuch*, p. 46, n. 2.

⁶ New York Herald-Tribune News Service, Sept. 1, 1957.

THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

RECENT RESEARCH ON AJAX

(from a hotel lobby)

AJAX, the son of Telamon, was one of the stoutest of the Greek heroes around Troy but he was treated none too sympathetically by his comrades, nor, for that matter, by the poet Homer.

In the *Iliad*, Book 7, Ajax fought a duel with Hector which ended in a draw. The two exchanged presents and parted as friends. In Book 9 Ajax was one of the three ambassadors to the tent of Achilles. His attempt to bring Achilles back into action followed the unsuccessful efforts of Odysseus and Phoenix. In fact he scarcely tried, but became merely scornful of a hero who would brood for the loss of one girl when she could be replaced by seven others. To Ajax, this was simple feminine arithmetic.

In Book 11 Ajax was the only hero left to stem the tide of advancing Trojans. Homer compares his stubborn courage to that of an ass being beaten by boys in a field. Neither would budge, but the simile has intellectual connotations that are not especially flattering. And in Book 15 Ajax defended the Greek ships with the skill of an athlete, vaulting, alternately, over the backs of four horses. In Book 17 he prays to Zeus for light in the midst of darkness and mist, and his prayer was answered. Finally, in Book 23, he quarrels with Idomeneus over the chariot race and wants to lay a bet to prove his point. Later in the same book he wrestled Odysseus to a draw — a brawn versus brains contest.

After the death of Achilles Ajax felt that his record made him the rightful heir of the hero's armor. But it was Athena's favorite, Odysseus, who won this prize. Something snapped, as the saying goes, in the mind of Ajax and he literally foamed up and went berserk. Thinking they were his ungrateful comrades Ajax slew a number of sheep and then committed suicide by falling on his sword. Sophocles in his *Ajax* gives us a truly sympathetic picture of what pressures had assaulted the mind of Ajax and finishes the play by assuring him of a proper burial. It is more than likely that the playwright's own political experiences

had not especially endeared politicians and political practices to him.

One last reference from ancient literature: in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* we meet Ajax in Hades. Odysseus tries to talk with him, and, by flattery, to make amends. But Ajax will have none of him and turns away in silence.

But time has, in one direction at least, added luster to the name and exploits of Ajax unapproached by any other ancient hero, unapproached, in fact, by any ancient god. And this is in an area where the choice of a word is a highly significant matter. Success or failure in an enterprise may depend upon a name and its connotations, or a slogan. In the field of selling of products or services Ajax has carried away all prizes — overwhelmingly.

In Manhattan fifty firms advertise under the Ajax label. Here he will provide fabrics, fasteners, drapes, frocks, buckles and buttons. He will do answering service, make collections, furnish business machines and shoulder pads. In Manhattan Achilles offers only one service — construction — but Hercules does well with twenty-seven services, including the inevitable knitting business.

In Brooklyn Ajax has twenty-seven activities, while Achilles merely continues on construction with the addition of a limousine service. Hercules does well again with fifteen entries, but one of them should make the demigod squirm. It is a Beauty Shoppe. In other boroughs of New York Ajax is represented thirteen times in the Bronx and eight times in Queens. In the latter he will clean sewers. Elsewhere in the east are seven votes for Ajax in Newark and twenty-two in Philadelphia. But Boston does not show the classical sensitivity we might expect since only four products are listed for Ajax in this city.

In the middle west Ajax receives nine votes in Cincinnati, eight in Minneapolis, sixteen in Cleveland, and twenty-six in Detroit including a Pizzeria. Chicago, of course, has the greatest number, thirty-six in all, with over half dealing with rough or

dirty work. Iron products, electric products and services, scavenger and waste paper activities make Ajax handy in Chicago. In the far west his popularity seems just about as consistent, with nine citations in San Francisco and thirty-three in Los Angeles.

And there you have it. In antiquity Ajax may have been admired, or even respected, for his blind loyalty, his unwavering courage, his physical prowess. But he was not honored — not by his colleagues — and there were little sly digs at his dullness. It has taken many centuries and an age more appreciative of his especial qualities to capitalize on his name and reputation. Let Zeus go gather his clouds, let Achilles be swift, and Odysseus be clever. Yes, let Aeneas be pious. None can match, nor approach, the esteem our age has granted Ajax, the Sink Cleaner. For Ajax has caught on. He has taken a firm hold on our hearts and imagination. As long as we need his particular brand of service it is certain that his name, too, will persevere.

HENRY C. MONTGOMERY

Miami University

MORE ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

IN THE JANUARY FORUM, a selected list of Latin readers used in Britain was published, chosen for possible supplementary reading in American secondary schools. This month we add to that list:

Gradatim, An Easy Latin Translation Book for Beginners, H. R. Heatley and H. N. Kingdon. Longmans Green and Co., London, 1957. Pp. 35, vocab.

Principia, A Beginners' Latin Course, C. W. E. Peckett and A. R. Munday. Wilding and Son, Ltd., Shrewsbury, 1952. Pp. 258, vocab.

Latinum, A Reader for the First Stage of Latin, C. E. Robinson. University Press, Cambridge, 1940. Pp. 138, vocab.

Romani, A Reader for the Third Stage of Latin, C. E. Robinson. University Press, Cambridge, 1949. Pp. 125, vocab.

The following three books, the first two of which we might call booklets, are designed for use as "unseens":

Examination Papers in Latin, For the General Certificate of Education, S. K. Bailey. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1958. Pp. 87.

Aids to Common Entrance, Latin Translation, A. W. Black. W. E. Baxter, Ltd., Lewes, 1957. Pp. 62, vocab.

Faciliora Reddenda, Latin Unseens for

School Certificate, O. N. Jones. Blackie and Son, Ltd., London. Pp. 95.

The following anthologies are suitable for more advanced students:

A Book of Latin Poetry, from Ennius to Hadrian, E. V. Rieu. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1953. Pp. 120, notes.

A Book of Latin Prose and Latin Verse, from Cato and Plautus to Bacon and Milton, F. A. Wright. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1953. Pp. 219, notes.

The Romans in Britain, A Selection of Latin Texts with a Commentary, R. W. Moore. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1953. Pp. 214, notes, map. Introduction in English outlining history of Britain, ancient writers on Britain, and the archaeological evidence. Has lists of books on Roman Britain.

Blackie's Latin Texts, edited by W. H. D. Rouse. An example is *Ilias Latina*, W. H. S. Jones. Pp. 40. This sells for sixpence. The text has all long vowels marked; it contains a note on quantity and a two-page introduction listing the MSS and commenting on the poem in general.

Useful reference books in English:

Publius, A Roman Boy, E. C. Kennedy. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London. Pp. 80; paperbound. Suitable to age 13.

The Greeks, D. E. Limebeer. University Press, Cambridge, 1940. Pp. 144.

The Romans, D. E. Limebeer. University Press, Cambridge, 1949. Pp. 151.

A Companion to School Classics, James Gow. Macmillan and Co., London; reprinted, 1951. Pp. 333, indices. Cost: about nine shillings.

Two items reprinted many times are listed below:

Memoranda Latina, Word List, Syntax, Idioms and Phrases, M. Kean. Blackie and Son, Ltd., London, 1958. Pp. 132; paperbound.

Meissner's Latin Phrase-Book, H. W. Auden. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1956. Pp. 281, pp. 57 of Latin and English indices. Interleaved throughout with blank pages for additional phrases. About ten shillings in London.

SCHOLAR OF THE COLLEGE

ACCORDING to a recent Boston Sunday Herald, Boston College has initiated a "daring carte blanche" in educational programs. The director of special programs at the college, P. Albert Duhamel, says, "Ameri-

can education has been too much like American mass production. Some students don't have to be led by the nose. Outstanding scholars would educate themselves in a barn if they had to."

The college has selected two top-ranking seniors—both of whom are Classics majors—to begin the new "Scholar of the College" program. The scholars may take any courses, read any subject, or follow any line of research they choose. They are mature enough to "educate themselves" using the College's resources of a half-million-volume library and the faculty. Selection was made by a committee of College officials and department heads after screening a thousand students. The two Scholars are Carney Gavin, 19, of Jamaica Plain, and Daniel Geogan, 21, of Watertown.

The two young men arranged heavy schedules for themselves in order to meet their own high goals. They are preparing to "be examined by a jury of outstanding classicists on the complete works of Tacitus at a conclave of the New England Classical Association in April. In this traditional, but now rare, face-to-face form of examination, Geogan and Gavin must be prepared to translate at sight from any of the 800 pages of Tacitus' *Opera Omnia*—and then prove in a two-hour verbal cross-examination their mastery of the entire period."

In addition to the Tacitus reading, they have a tutorial with Fr. Leo McCauley, Chairman of the Classics department, three times a week. Included in their reading program are Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, the medieval philosophers and others.

Duhamel points out that the Scholars may set their own goals. Future College Scholars might decide to spend the year doing research in science, or writing a thesis or a novel, or even possibly all three. Since only the very best students should be accepted for these appointments, Duhamel predicts four or five students at the most for any one year.

THE ROMAN ACHIEVEMENT

The Proceedings of the British Classical Association (1958), in summarizing a paper given by Professor Wm. Beare of Bristol, quotes: "The record of Rome is under criticism today. Interest has shifted to Greek studies; in comparison the Roman achievement is found derivative, vulgar,

uninspiring. Our Victorian ancestors thought they had solved political problems, and condemned the Romans for their mistakes. But the predicament of the world today should teach us humility. The Roman achievement was in the first place a way of life, a religion, based on farm and family:—the ideal of *humanitas* became part of the educated Roman's makeup. The Empire of Augustus put world government on a business footing, and Vergil gave the Empire its moral principle. To measure Roman greatness we have to go outside the Roman frontiers, to study the wide-spread influence of Roman trade as far as China. The Romans have left to us the fact of world government and the ideal of *humanitas*."

Paper to be published in full in *Greece and Rome*, March, 1959.

COORDINATION WITHIN THE LATIN CURRICULUM

Excerpts from a talk given before the Wisconsin Latin Teachers Association in November, 1958.

THINKING on the topic of internal coordination within the Latin curriculum, one might hope that we could make a list of specific things that a student is supposed to have mastered in a given time, say by the end of each semester or year of study; and that each later stage could build further on the earlier ones without the necessity for reteaching. In many ways, this hope is, I believe, illusory.

To the student, almost all Latin literature appears difficult and of approximately equal difficulty. This is no accident. It results from a pervasive rule of classical style that complex ideas are to appear as simple as possible in their linguistic expression and that simple things should be made to appear complex (see Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460b 3-5). To illustrate the first, one might cite Vergil's phrase *sunt lacrimae rerum*, and for the second, *pateris libamus et auro*.

Thus for reteaching, one has to teach practically all the Latin there is (in the sense of Latin structure) at each stage of progress, although one hopes to do so each time at a higher level of sophistication. The great distinction is between the students who have had some Latin and those who have had little or none. . . . From the practical point of view, then, we may agree at once that the key to our problems of coordination lies in our elementary course.

. . . And the key to the elementary course lies, in great part, in the elementary textbooks.

So far as I can see, all the secondary school textbooks covering the first two years of Latin are based more or less firmly on two fundamental propositions: first, that Latin composition is an important goal of Latin study, and second, that the appropriate standard of usage to teach is Ciceronianism. Both of these concepts are more or less out of date in our thinking about more advanced work in the language; but they color everything that is said in the elementary textbooks. Let me illustrate by a very simple example. In almost any book I can read a statement like the following: "The direct object of a verb is in the accusative case." Just below that in one¹ I read, "A noun which tells how long an act or a situation continues is in the accusative," and "The accusative without a preposition is used to express extent of space."

The latter two usages are exactly the same grammatically, since the linguistic concept, the category and the meaning are the same. But the shocking thing here is that there is such disparity in the form of statement. The first statement is about the "direct object." The second is about "a noun" which expresses a certain meaning. The third is about a grammatical form, "the accusative without a preposition." Properly each statement should describe the normal function of an accusative form in a given syntactical context. The statement should be about the form, since the form is the verifiable fact the student has to start with. But these three statements represent three different approaches to the subject of syntax. In practice, in one way or another the Latin teacher reduces this sort of thing to a rational order, but it wastes time and energy to do so. Why do we have statements like these in our books in the first place? Because the authors of our textbooks wish not only to tell us the possible functions of certain grammatical forms to be encountered in our reading, and to give us the grammatical contexts in which these functions are operative, but they also wish to provide guidance to the proper forms for expressing certain meanings or functions in our writing of Latin. Although they have a double purpose in mind, neither purpose is fulfilled adequately. I believe we might well dispense entirely with Latin composition as a goal in the elementary course, since this does not appear to be the best time to learn Latin composition and style.

An even better example of confusion of purpose in our elementary books can be

found in the way they break up the usage of the ablative. For practical purposes one can simply teach that words in the ablative normally stand in an adverbial relationship (the only real exception is the ablative of quality, which is adjectival). The nature of the relationship and the meaning arise simply and naturally out of the meaning of the words and the context. Why then do we find anywhere from eleven to nineteen and more varieties of ablative catalogued in first-year books? Are they needed to understand our texts? No. If they are needed at all, it is only for writing purposes — to present the fine points of Ciceronian usage regarding prepositions, adjective modifiers, and so on. The works of Cicero, however, have already been written — by Cicero; and, if we choose merely to read them, all the grammar we need is that necessary for the interpretation of his text.

Here I am building up to a basic distinction between two quite different and separate types of activity which are both included under the term "grammar."² If this distinction is accepted and its implications are realized, I believe it will make a major difference in the way Latin is taught and learned. The distinction I wish to make is an ancient one. I take it from Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 1. 4. 2-3). The art of grammar, according to Quintilian, is divided into two parts: the science of speaking correctly and the interpretation of the poets. But, he goes on, there is more in these definitions than meets the eye. Writing is closely connected with speaking, and correct oral reading is a necessary condition for interpretation. Quintilian presently generalizes the second of these parts of grammar to include not only poetry but also the interpretation of all works of literature.

Now it is the understanding and interpretation of works of literature which is the normal goal of most work in the Latin curriculum beyond the elementary course. My thesis is that we ought to adopt the second of the two parts of grammar, the interpretation of literary texts, as the primary goal of the Latin curriculum from the outset. That means that we must in effect reorganize the elementary course to this end and eliminate from it all material that does not contribute directly and effectively to that goal. . . . The student of Latin may reasonably set himself a fairly simple and single-minded goal: to read things, usually works of literature, which have already been written in the Latin language.

In trying to set the minimum conditions for reading in Latin, I think we shall find that the really essential knowledge comes

under four heads. First, the student must have sufficient ability to distinguish inflected and uninflected words. For inflected words, he must be able to identify the grammatical form before him either because he knows it or can look it up. Then he can proceed from it to the pertinent entry in the dictionary. Second, he must be able to identify the fundamental syntactical forms. Here too the absolute minimum of competence is the ability to proceed from the text to the proper entry in a suitable work of reference. This is a more complicated matter, since it involves mastery of the basic sentence form, including concord or agreement, rection or governing, and modifying—as well as an understanding of the grammatical categories that are the basis of the Latin structure, e.g., parts of speech, and their functions, gender, tense, and so on. In my old-fashioned vocabulary all this can be described in one word: parsing. Parsing can be taught; and though methods vary, it must be taught in some manner or other if the student is to have verifiable knowledge.

The third essential is that the student know what the Latin author is talking about, because all understanding involves some sort of recognition. The fourth point is the most important of all: the student must be able to express aloud in Latin the meaning of the Latin. By that I mean precisely what I say. As Quintilian says, correct oral reading is a necessary condition of interpretation. If we really understand a piece of Latin, we must be able to stand up on our own two feet and utter the words so that they actually express, individually and in their sequence, the meaning we impute to them both individually and in their rhetorical and grammatical structure. When your own mouth utters a Latin sentence so that it expresses the meaning of a Latin sentence, you understand that much Latin, at least.

These essentials can be grasped much earlier in our curriculum than is now the case, if we either eliminate or cut down the time and effort spent on non-essentials. Among non-essentials I include mastery of vocabulary, especially memorizing lists of words; Latin composition and all that is connected specifically with that part of grammar; and finally, translation into English. The essential task of the Latin teacher, especially in the elementary course, is to help the student to understand the Latin. The teacher may well do all or most of the translating considered necessary, at least until the students acquire adequate techniques by imitation and experience.

The important first goal of the elementary course is to take people who do not know any Latin and to turn them into people who do know some Latin. But all this will be a real achievement only if the Latin the student knows is real Latin written by a native speaker taken just as it comes. The particular book or author used for this purpose may not make much difference.

Our first goal is achieved when our students know that they know a little real Latin; but we must keep our ultimate goal in mind, which is to enable them to read Latin with reasonable ease, speed, accuracy and confidence. For them to do that they need more solid knowledge all along the line. . . . On the basis of my own experience I would say that a student achieves both competence and confidence in Latin when he masters three things: 1) all the inflectional forms, 2) the basic syntactical forms, and 3) the technique of reading the language aloud with ease and expression.

For mastery of forms nothing beats sheer drill, both oral and written. Basic syntactical patterns are more easily learned from the analysis of a real text than from isolated presentation, i.e., by parsing and collecting examples. Although syntax is usually presented with a weird variety of unreal distinctions, I recommend that one always proceed from form to function. After the explanation and study of the simplest and most basic matters, I stress four constructions: the gerundive, the accusative and infinitive, the ablative absolute (or ablative clause), and the relative clause of purpose. Other necessary constructions can usually be learned readily just by explaining them as they come up. When everything is stressed equally, nothing is learned. As for method, it helps greatly to have each student collect his own examples of grammatical phenomena, classifying them by form. Then, when a form occurs which causes puzzlement in its use, a parallel can usually be found by consulting one's own private grammar based upon one's own personal experience of Latin. The principle here is that a student never believes anything unless he says it himself; we direct him to the facts upon which an understanding of Latin grammar is based. In a very real sense, when a student has reached this point, his elementary course is completed.

My third point, the effective oral reading of real Latin texts, deserves special emphasis, because only the living voice can bring out the full significance and meaning of word-order patterns in Latin. Also, the

ability to read Latin aloud with ease and expression quickly gives any student that sense of control and mastery of the text which is essential to true understanding and confidence. When students and teacher realize the advantage of the practice, Latin becomes more fun for everyone. In some schools or school systems one could even arrange for programs in which the students of one Latin class would present prepared passages of Latin orally before other classes. The secret of this procedure is that it directs the student's whole attention to the Latin. His whole person, voice, ear, eye, hand, everything is devoted to the projection of the meaning of the Latin text. He is doing just what the Romans themselves did with literary texts, without being distracted by analysis, translation, or by anything else. He becomes a Latin speaker insofar as it is possible for any of us to achieve that status.

A word ought to be said about the choice of Latin texts to read; but there is little one can profitably say. Choice is severely limited by what is available in the books we use or can use. In general, any book in Latin that the teacher and students enjoy reading is a good one. Since most Latin authors appear to be of approximately equal difficulty to the student, there is little to choose on that score. If I were teaching in high school and were free to choose anything I wished, I would read mostly from Ovid, Terence and Vergil.

In all I have been saying I have been stressing language and literature, without a word about consuls, or Vestal virgins, or Roman banquets. I do not underestimate the importance of these subjects. And reading books about the Romans is helpful. But there is a better way of getting at this problem. We should beg, drive, wheedle, or cajole our students into reading the maximum amount of Latin literature in translation, and some Greek literature, too. In this way they build up in themselves naturally a knowledge of ancient life. They gain a better idea of what to expect next. Some day (who knows?) a student may assume that a sentence he is looking at may have something to do with the sentence that precedes it. That assumption will come more easily to a student who has already read much Latin literature in translation than it will to one who has read only the separate disconnected sentences of some of our textbooks.

Every resurgence or renascence of Latin studies has grown out of an enthusiasm of people, of students, for reading things written in the language. Let our students have a taste and more than a taste as soon as

possible, and let it include different types of Latin literature. What I say here applies to every stage of our program. Probably more of this sort of thing can be done in the last two years of high school. But at all times let us see that our students find real meat in their Latin studies, and they will also find real value in their education. Every teacher should try to see that his high-school library and his public library contain an adequate number of recent books dealing with classical studies. Administrative officials tend to value departments by the demands they make. Let us all demand a proper working library for our best students.

Some of the things I have been talking about involve a good deal of work and skill on the part of the teacher. But in addressing Latin teachers I believe I am speaking to the cream of our secondary-school teachers in the very subject where they are working with the cream of our students. Others should be able to look at our work as an example of what our school system can accomplish. Our present results, though good, can be improved by our own efforts, if we are careful to emphasize from the beginning what experience has taught us we shall emphasize later on. Using what we have in the way of books and classes, but narrowing and sharpening our goals from the outset, we can make a spectacular improvement in our present situation and serve our students more as they deserve to be served. Every year in my college classes I get a substantial number of students with two years of high-school Latin who are able to read a large variety of texts (Terence, Ovid, Seneca, Augustine, Tacitus, Petronius, Horace, and so on). But I believe that with the more general adoption of the goals I have been recommending, the number of such students would be more than doubled.

Within the traditional pattern of liberal-arts education we are *grammatici*, teachers of the art of grammar. Although we profess both parts of that art, I recommend that we stress that aspect of it which deals with interpretation. Language, as we know, is a social institution devoted primarily to communication. Those who speak of communication in this connection usually emphasize communicating to another what the communicator wishes expressed. But at least an equally important aspect of communication is the art of discerning the message, that is, the art of being communicated to. That art, or at least one application of that art, is our special province.

The term "art of grammar" (*ars gram-*

matica) provides an effective and noble description of our place and function in the liberal-arts curriculum. It describes the basis of our cooperation with one another within the field of Latin studies, and it also describes the part we play in the curriculum as a whole. Consequently it indicates the extent and limits of our professional cooperation.

I suppose instead of cooperation I could use the word coordination, but the latter term suggests something which we have been the victims of for a long time. "Latin is good for your English," "Latin is a good foundation for French," "Latin will help you in biology, or law," and so on. We are being coordinated *against*. These statements all say that something is more valuable than Latin, but that the study of Latin can be condoned because besides teaching Latin we also do something useful. Let us get coordinated *for*, for a change. English will help your Latin. The knowledge of a modern foreign language we can hear spoken can help us to master Latin better. The English-speaking Latin student already has the great advantage that he readily understands a large Latin vocabulary. Mathematics can assist us by giving statistical statements about the frequency of occurrence of words and forms, and so on.

But there is really only one coordinator in our educational system, that is the student. If we all do all we can, each of us to help him master as much as possible of the discipline which is our professional responsibility, each student then in terms of the way he is, with his interest and abilities, will coordinate the whole of his educational experience into the life of a mature and educated man.

MAURICE P. CUNNINGHAM

Lawrence College

¹ Scott, Horn, and Gummere, *Using Latin, Book One* (Chicago, 1948) p. 397.

² I have discussed this matter more at length, either specifically or by implication, in a number of papers, for example: "Some Phonetic Aspects of Word Order Patterns in Latin," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 101 (1957) 481-505; "Some Principles of Latin Phrasing: Quintilian 11.3. 35-38 on *Aeneid* 1.1-3," *CW* 47 (1953) 17-22; "Some Poetic Uses of the Singular and Plural of Substantives in Latin," *CP* 44 (1949) 1-14; "Number in Latin Substantives," *CJ* 50 (1955) 241-42.

WITH OUR COLLEAGUES ABROAD

A NOTICE has been received from the Classical Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland announcing for the fall of 1958 "publication of a new classical journal. The journal is meant for research work and contains a preponderance of articles of a specialist nature. In the first volume the emphasis is largely upon historical research, but this should not be taken as indicating a set policy for further volumes in the series."

The Managing Editor of the new *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations* is T. F. Carney, Head of Classics Department, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

T. B. L. Webster of University College, London is the British Editor on the Editorial Board, but "articles intended for publication, books for review, subscriptions (16 shillings annually), remittances and other editorial communications" should be addressed to Professor Carney.

The publication is a journal for original contributions in any aspect of Greek or Roman studies, and will accept such contributions primarily, but not exclusively, from scholars within Africa.

Editorial deadline is April 30.

FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, INC.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, APRIL 2, 3, 4, 1959.

HEADQUARTERS: HOTEL ASTOR

at the invitation of: The University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee
The Latin Teachers of Milwaukee and Wisconsin
Marquette University

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 2

8:30 a.m. Registration, Lobby of Hotel Astor. To help defray convention expenses, a registration fee of \$1.00 will be asked of all except high-school students.

9:00 a.m. Meeting of the Executive Committee, Pompeian Room.

All regular sessions will be in the Venetian Room.

9:30 a.m. First Session. JOHN L. HELLER, University of Illinois, presiding.
GRUNDY STEINER, Northwestern University, "Poetry and Practical Agriculture."
ERNEST J. AMENT, University of Ottawa, "The Greek Letters of Brutus."
ROBERT B. CROSS, University of Arkansas, "Meter and Theme in the Odes of Horace."
JAMES A. HITT, University of Texas, "Aristotelian Praxis and Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*."
SISTER M. JORDAN, Pacelli High School, Austin, Minnesota, "Psychology Applied to Latin Learning."
RICHARD J. CARBRAY, Lake Forest Academy, "The Curious Preferment of Statius and Cato in the *Divine Comedy*."
D. F. S. THOMSON, University College, University of Toronto, "Catullus 64: the *Peleus and Thetis*."

2:00 p.m. Second Session. ARTHUR H. MOSER, University of Tennessee, presiding.

KENNETH M. ABBOTT, Ohio State University, "O *Dimidiate Menander*, An Echo from a Roman Schoolroom?"

WARREN E. BLAKE, University of Michigan, "First Impressions of the New *Menander*."

SYMPOSIUM, "Current Literary Criticism and the Classics."

Moderator, NORMAN T. PRATT, JR., Indiana University.

Panel:

ROGER A. HORNSEY, State University of Iowa, "The Critical Appraisal of Latin Poetry."

ROY A. SWANSON, University of Minnesota, "Forms of Discipline in Poetry."

S. PALMER BOVIE, Indiana University, "Modern Translations: the Aims and the Results."

General Discussion

4:30 p.m. Meeting of the Southern Section of CAMWS, Tapestry Room.

7:30 p.m. Third Session. ROBERT J. GETTY, University of North Carolina, presiding.
CHARLES T. MURPHY, Oberlin College, "Phlyax Comedy and Aristophanes" (illustrated).

ANNA S. BENJAMIN, University of Missouri, "The Imperial Cult at Mytilene" (illustrated).

PETER D. ARNOTT, State University of Iowa, "A Marionette Performance of Euripides' *Medea*" (Arnott's translation).

FRIDAY, APRIL 3

7:30 a.m. State Vice-Presidents' Breakfast, Tapestry Room, CAMWS Secretary-Treasurer, JOHN N. HOUGH, presiding.

9:30 a.m. Fourth Session. GRAYDON W. REGENOS, Tulane University, President-Elect of CAMWS, presiding.
ELFREIDA FRANK, Texas Technological College, "The Particle Dumtaxat."
HENRY R. IMMERWAHR, University of North Carolina, "Herodotus: the Subject of the Histories."
LEONARD E. WOODBURY, University College, University of Toronto, "Odysseus in the Cave of the Cyclops."
CHESTER L. NEUDLING, Specialist for the Humanities, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., "The Future of the Classics."
CHARLES H. HEITHAUS, s.j., St. Louis University, "The Vanished Furniture of Roman Houses" (illustrated).
TALBOT R. SELBY, College of William and Mary, "Roman Art and the *Aeneid*" (illustrated).
D. HERBERT ABEL, Loyola University of Chicago, "Advanced Placement and Recruitment."
EILEEN JOHNSON, Senior High School, Anderson, Indiana, "Latin Teacher Recruitment in Indiana."

2:00 p.m. Fifth Session. MARY C. ARNOLD, Cambridge (Ohio) High School, First Vice-President of CAMWS, presiding.
NORMAN J. DEWITT, University of Minnesota, "Words, Words, Words: the Vocabulary Problem."
KATHERINE M. METZNER, Linsley Military Institute (W. Va.), "Return to that Pierian Spring."
PAUL MacKENDRICK, University of Wisconsin, Chairman of APA's Committee on Educational Training and Trends, "The CETT: a Progress Report."

DISCUSSION: "Latin in the High-School Curriculum from Administrators' Viewpoints."
Moderator: H. R. BUTTS, Birmingham-Southern College.
Panel:
WILLIAM H. CORNOG, Superintendent of New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, Illinois.
CARL T. FEELHAVER, Superintendent of Schools, Fort Dodge, Iowa.
E. EUGENE OLIVER, Administrator, Arlington High School, Arlington Heights, Illinois.
A. R. PAGE, Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Wisconsin.
EARL M. RAMER, Chairman, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, University of Tennessee.
General Discussion

7:00 p.m. Annual Subscription Banquet, Venetian Room (\$4.00 per plate, including gratuities. Formal dress optional). GERALD F. ELSE, University of Michigan, presiding.
Music: Vocal selections by students of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, under the direction of MERION J. JOHNSON.
Greetings: REVEREND CHARLES M. O'HARA, s.j., Assistant to the President, Marquette University.
DWIGHT TEEL, Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction, Milwaukee Public Schools.
ROBERT J. GETTY, University of North Carolina, President of American Philological Association.
Greetings and Remarks: J. MARTIN KOTSCHÉ, Provost, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, "In Pursuit of Balance and Excellence."
Response: MARY C. ARNOLD, Cambridge (Ohio) High School, First Vice-President of CAMWS.
Ovationes: WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University.
Presidential Address: OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, State University of Iowa, "Res Novae and the Classical Languages."

SATURDAY, APRIL 4

9:00 a.m. Annual Business Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, President, presiding. Venetian Room.

10:30 a.m. Sixth Session. CARL ROESBUCK, Northwestern University, presiding.

VICTOR COUTANT, Central Michigan College, "Static and Dynamic Aspects of Aristotle's Scientific Scheme."

CHARLES S. RAYMENT, Carleton College, "The Importance of the Time Element in Declamation."

WALTER R. AGARD, University of Wisconsin, "Greek Prototypes of American Myths."

JOANN SWEENEY, Community High School, North Chicago, "Introducing Latin Students to Romance Languages."

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

Ortha L. Wilner, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, and H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High School, Milwaukee, Co-Chairmen. Edith Atchison, Shorewood High School; Mrs. Robert Bahneman, Nicolet High School; Mrs. W. J. Cotton; Sister Mary Dorothea, Mount Mary College; Grace Fardy, Waukesha High School; George Ganss, s.j., Marquette University; Mary Gaunt, Rufus King High School; Marianne Jansen, West Division High School; Eugene Olson, Muskego High School; Helen Paulsen, Longfellow Junior High School, Wauwatosa; Margaret Pierce, South Milwaukee High School; Alfreda Stallman, Carroll College, Waukesha; Members of the Latin Section of the Wisconsin Education Association; Members of the four Wisconsin Chapters of Eta Sigma Phi.

MILWAUKEE ART CENTER

The Milwaukee Art Center is at 750 North Memorial Drive. Through April 3 an exhibit of drawings by Modigliani will be on view.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Hotel Astor, located at 924 East Juneau Avenue and Astor Street, is about three-fourths of a mile northeast from the Northwestern Railroad Station, and one and one-half miles northeast from the Milwaukee Railroad Station. Single, \$6.50 to \$10.00; double, \$9.00 to \$10.50; twin beds, \$10.00 to \$15.00.

Kaiser-Knickerbocker Hotel, 1028 East Juneau (one block from Headquarters). Single, \$6.50 to \$10.00; double, \$9.00 to \$12.50; twin beds, \$10.50 to \$15.00.

Cudahy-Tower Hotel, 925 East Wells (one-half mile from Headquarters). Single, \$8.50 to \$11.00; double, \$11.50 to \$15.00.

Plankinton House, 609 N. Plankinton Avenue (one mile from Headquarters). Single, \$8.50 to \$11.00; double, \$9.50 to \$13.00; twin beds, \$11.00 to \$19.00.

Schroeder Hotel, 509 W. Wisconsin Avenue (one and one-half miles from Headquarters). Single, \$6.50 to \$12.00; double, \$10.00 to \$16.00; twin beds, \$12.00 to \$16.00.

ACCOMMODATIONS FOR SISTERS, PRIESTS AND BROTHERS

Any sister may arrange for accommodations in any Milwaukee convent. However, the Hotel Astor will take reservations directly from sisters and, as far as possible, locate them in a group on one floor. If further information is desired, sisters may write to Sister M. Dorothea, S.S.N.D., Mount Mary College, 2900 North Menomonee Parkway, Milwaukee 10, Wisconsin.

Priests and brothers should secure their own housing accommodations. Information about facilities for Masses may be obtained from Rev. George E. Ganss, s.j., Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

TRAVEL SERVICES

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad; Chicago and Northwestern Railroad; American Air Lines; Capital Air Lines; Northwest-United Air Lines; North Central Air Line (local transfer service from Chicago); Budger Bus Co.; and Greyhound Bus Co.

OFFICERS FOR 1958-1959

President, OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, State University of Iowa; First Vice-President, MARY C. ARNOLD, Cambridge (Ohio) High School; President-Elect, GRAYDON W. REGENOS, Tulane University; Secretary-Treasurer, JOHN N. HOUGH, University of Colorado.

VICE-PRESIDENTS FOR THE STATES AND ONTARIO

<i>Alabama</i>	C. D. PERRY, University of Alabama, University
<i>Arkansas</i>	MRS. MARY L. H. HENBEST, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
<i>Colorado</i>	KARL K. HULLEY, University of Colorado, Boulder
<i>Florida</i>	VIVIA CRAIG, 2912 St. Johns Ave., Jacksonville
<i>Georgia</i>	M. KATHRYN GLICK, Agnes Scott College, Decatur
<i>Illinois</i>	MARY JEANNETTE MUNCE, Bloomington High School, Bloomington
<i>Indiana</i>	VERGIL HIATT, Butler University, Indianapolis
<i>Iowa</i>	MARY A. BOXWELL, Ft. Dodge High School, Ft. Dodge
<i>Kansas</i>	L. R. LIND, University of Kansas, Lawrence
<i>Kentucky</i>	ROBERT J. BUCK, University of Kentucky, Lexington
<i>Louisiana</i>	THOMAS CORCORAN, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
<i>Michigan</i>	WILLIAM M. SEAMAN, Michigan State University, East Lansing
<i>Minnesota</i>	SISTER M. BEDE DONELAN, College of St. Theresa, Winona
<i>Mississippi</i>	A. P. HAMILTON, Millsaps College, Jackson
<i>Missouri</i>	ROBERT G. HOERBER, Westminster College, Fulton
<i>Nebraska</i>	RUTH PILLING, Central High School, Omaha
<i>New Mexico</i>	MRS. ANNE K. LE CROY, 215 Maple St. N.E., Albuquerque
<i>North Carolina</i>	CHARLES HENDERSON, JR., University of N.C., Chapel Hill
<i>North Dakota</i>	DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS, University of N.D., Grand Forks
<i>Ohio</i>	MARY C. ARNOLD, Cambridge High School, Cambridge
<i>Oklahoma</i>	WILLIAM R. TONGUE, University of Oklahoma, Norman
<i>South Carolina</i>	MRS. FRED PARKER, 1004 Wichman St., Walterboro
<i>South Dakota</i>	GRACE L. BEEDE, University of S.D., Vermillion
<i>Tennessee</i>	FRANCIS NEWTON, Vanderbilt University, Nashville
<i>Texas</i>	JAMES E. HITT, University of Texas, Austin
<i>Utah</i>	MRS. VERA D. GROSELL, 73 Virginia St., Salt Lake City
<i>Virginia</i>	GERTRUDE MALZ, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar
<i>West Virginia</i>	LUCY WHITSEL, Marshall College, Huntington
<i>Wisconsin</i>	ESTHER WEIGHTMAN, Wisconsin High School, Madison
<i>Wyoming</i>	RUBY McBRIDE, Natrona County High School, Casper
<i>Ontario, Canada</i>	EMILY McINNES, Cornwall Collegiate Institute, Cornwall

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, JOHN N. HOUGH, MARY C. ARNOLD, HARRY J. LEON, GRAYDON W. REGENOS, ROBERT J. GETTY, B. H. NARVESON, H. R. BUTTS, WALTER ALLEN, JR.

JULIAN AND THE MEN OF LETTERS

STEBELTON H. NULLE

As WE APPROACH the sixteenth century of his short reign (December, 361—June, 363), the Emperor Julian is less known to men of letters than in the Age of Dryden. "Who now reads Julian?" we inquire—echoing Burke's familiar query—or of him? Even in the academic grove, where he once more wanders, he is well-known only to a few.

But this is not the first time that Julian has been in eclipse among the literati and abandoned to the scholars. For a thousand years after his death he was half forgotten, yet reviled. Then, no sooner was he rediscovered in the early modern period than he became a figure of debate between traditionalists and the agents of a new orientation, and Julian was innocently dragged into a contest that shifted over the whole field of modern literature—or more vividly, in the words of Basil Gildersleeve, he was "now tossed in a blanket by sturdy ecclesiastics, now floating in a cloud of perfume from the censers of 'good old pagan gentlemen.'"¹ It is a curious story, not without interest.

How JULIAN SPENT the eighteen months of his reign in reforms and projects re-

versing or re-interpreting the work of Constantine the Great, his uncle; how he spent his days in high devotions that would have earned any Christian man a place among the saints; how he gave up his restless nights to dictation and literary labors, need not be retold. In a word, as Cicero said of Cato Uticensis, Julian lived as though he were in Plato's Republic, not among the dregs of Romulus.²

But, just as Henry VIII, the statesman, cannot escape from his connubial fame, Julian is still identified narrowly with his religious policy. No sooner had he assumed the imperial title than he revealed his apostasy, and the "cold war," as Toynbee calls it, broke out into the open between "Hellenes" and Christians.

To Julian thereafter, Christianity was "the Galilean superstition"—an irrational and impious fraud. Its practitioners were perverted folk, atheists as he said, who apostatized from the gods "to worship corpses and relics." They had the "Jesus disease" as D. H. Lawrence was to call it, incapacitating them as citizens and making them dangerous to the Empire.

Nevertheless, shortly after his accession, like Constantine he proclaimed tol-

eration for all. "It is by reason that we ought to persuade and instruct men," he wrote, "not by blows or insults, or bodily violence."³ Along with these exemplary sentiments, as part of his program of revival, he laid plans for a Platonizing state-controlled system of education, quite without precedent in Roman history, from which Christian teachers would be excluded.

But time ran out. After nine months in Antioch, the perennial Parthian war, abandoned by Constantius his predecessor, was reopened; in March, 363, he pressed massively but swiftly to the Euphrates; and in June, after repeated victories in the parched flats of Mesopotamia, he fell in action. . . . Venerable as the gravity of much of his writing — like his philosopher's beard in a clean-shaven age — often makes him seem, he was not yet thirty-two.

He might have aspired to the name philosopher-king, but Plato would probably have disowned him. Perhaps it is as a great soldier in the heroic tradition of Hellenism that we ought to think of him. But it is fascinating to speculate on the turn things might have taken had he, in either role, returned victorious with *Parthicus* added to his titles and a long reign still before him. Could he, in many years of developing and shaping, have made his religious synthesis acceptable? What would have happened at the Danube, only fifteen years later, if Julian, the born soldier, had been there? . . . But Julian did not return; at Adrianople the Goths he despised had their revenge; and the last words (save one) of Joseph de Maistre might have been his own: "Je finis avec l'Empire Romain; c'est s'en aller en bonne compagnie!"

For an indecisive generation Julian remained a figure of dispute among the contemporary literati, pagan and Christian. The fair-minded Ammianus, soldier and historian, who was with him at the last, mourned a hero; to Libanius, his "Grey Eminence," he was divine; and to Eunapius a saint. But soon such pagan voices were drowned out as,

from the reign of Theodosius, Christianity — enriched with Neoplatonic thought, its diverse elements ever more harmonized and convincing — swept all before it.

For the next millennium patristic propaganda held the field, and the minds of men were molded by its precepts and prejudices. To Augustine, Julian is already *Apostata*, the renegade whose "persecution" should be numbered among the worst ten: a man "whose marvelous gifts were poisoned by his lust for power";⁴ and to Jerome he is only "a mad dog, raving at Christianity."⁵ In Western Christendom it was through this tradition of the Latin Fathers — the medieval world of scholarship — that Julian was known; and fortunate it was for him that the works of certain fourth- and fifth-century Eastern Fathers — being in the language of heresy — were not also known. Of such were the spiteful invectives of Gregory of Nazianzus or the last words foisted on Julian by Sozomen and Theodoret:⁶ "Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

This, then, was the scholarly tradition inherited from the Middle Ages. Julian was the apostate. Of all the Roman emperors it was not the egregious Elagabalus or even Nero and the other bloody persecutors who had a pejorative epithet: it was Julian alone; so, to the layman of the High Middle Ages, who knew him perhaps from the fantastic flights of fancy in the *Golden Legend* of Giacomo da Voragine, where he is often mentioned, Julian was evil incarnate.⁷

By 1500 tradition had done its worst. Would modern scholars and men of letters speak with another voice? Would they see him more truly, in the round?

THE HUMANIST SCHOLARS of the early modern period were far better qualified than their predecessors. Not only did they have a friendly attitude toward the pagan past: they had such of Julian's own writings as had survived. Thus, in 1499 Aldus brought out the *editio principis*, in the original Greek, of the de-

bris of his once countless letters. Diderot was astonished (1746) that any of Julian's works should have survived at all,⁸ not knowing that we owe the letters, at least, to the abiding admiration of Byzantine anthologists, who scorned the author but prized his style. In the course of the 16th century more Greek editions of the letters and of his other works appeared; and in 1583 the first "complete" edition in Greek, with a Latin translation and a biographical preface, was published at Paris. In the meantime, not only did Ammianus (1474, 1533) and Eunapius (1568, 1596) also appear in print, but the 15th and 16th centuries saw the first appearance of the bulk of the Greek Fathers in Latin, putting them within reach of readers whose Greek was smaller than their Latin. By the end of the 17th century, as the impressive bibliography in the fourth volume of Tillemont's scholarly *Histoire des Empereurs* (1697) testifies, there were few literary sources for the life of Julian still unknown.

The Renaissance was "a fundamentally Christian age," as Kristeller says, but its classical scholars were essentially neither religious nor anti-religious. They were *érudits*, not schoolmen, pursuing their work "without any explicit discourse on religious topics."⁹ Thus Denis Petau (Petavius), who helped edit the 1630 edition of Julian's *Opera Omnia*, was a learned Jesuit who long held a chair of theology at Paris; and later "the pious Tillemont," as Gibbon calls him, was one of "ces messieurs de Port-Royal"; but he dealt with Julian, as Petit-Dutaillis says, with "a fairness almost touching."

The literature of the early modern period, first-hand in its acquaintance with Julian, reveals the results of such scholarly devotion. Thanks to these humanists, he ceased to be a phantasm, paler than the Galilean, or a mere embodiment of evil in a hagiography; he was now a figure of substance, knowable faintly in the round. Not only so. Wherever the spirit of humanism was uppermost, we find for the first time an in-

terest in the man alone, for himself and for the enrichment of our knowledge of human personality, rather than for his relation to doctrine only.

From the first it was French scholars who were foremost in Julianic studies. This leadership they never lost. French men of letters were to keep them close company, and Julian had the extraordinary good luck that the impulse to the revolution in his fortunes came from one of the most celebrated among them — Montaigne. In an essay devoted entirely to him (1580), Montaigne boldly championed Julian's toleration and justice; he wrote in part:

He was indeed a very great and very uncommon man with a mind deeply imbued with the teachings of philosophy, by which he preferred to regulate all his actions. And indeed there is no kind of virtue of which he has not left behind some very notable examples.¹⁰

In the same essay — quite aware of the Emperor's disrepute, as well as of the risk in undertaking his defence — Montaigne also rejected the patristic myth of Julian's last words; and it speaks volumes for the indulgence — or the slackness — of the Tridentine papacy that Montaigne was let off by the censors the following year after the curious exchange recounted in his *Travel Journal*.¹¹

Montaigne's trumpet rallied no support for Julian across the Channel. No English voice was raised. Shakespeare, whose fascination for monarchs as human beings has been told lately by Rebecca West, knew Julian through Florio's version of the *Essays*; but he was silent.

Bacon and Milton too knew Julian well, but quite without fresh perception. Indeed, the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) out-Herods Augustine and makes Julian's rescript depriving Christians of access to Hellenic learning "a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian Faith than were all the sanguinary prosecutions of his predecessors";¹² and *Areopagitica* (1644) agrees almost verbatim, describ-

ing Julian as "the subtlest enemy of our faith" and his "persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, than the open cruelty of Decius and Diocletian."¹³

Later in the same century, Julian got scant attention in the writings of the English literati—with a whimsical exception. One Samuel Johnson, a country parson come to London, felt he could serve the Whig cause as well as his own by publishing diatribes against the dissimulating Duke of York, later James II, thinly disguised as studies of the more famous apostate. Julian therefore became

that Mighty Man who durst not own his own Gods for ten years together; . . . that false Man, who worship'd the Eternal Sun by Moonlight, and yet in the very face of him went and worship'd the obscure Galilean; . . . that degenerate Heathen who, to gain the favour of the Galileans . . . did that which Socrates would not do to save his Life, but preferr'd Hemlock before it.¹⁴

Little was lost when the book was burned by the hangman, but it established one thing: by the late 17th century the story of Julian must have been well-known to members of Parliament and even to voters.

Perhaps this familiarity was not unconnected with the wide interest in his Lucianic satire, *The Caesars*, which appeared at Heidelberg, Paris and Liege in French translations from 1660 on.¹⁵ Abused though its author was by Protestant Englishmen, Julian's work won praise from the Catholic Dryden (1693);¹⁶ and Gibbon was to describe it as "one of the most agreeable and instructive products of ancient wit."

If Montaigne's estimate of Julian had no echo in 17th-century England, in France he had at least one successor in Descartes' opponent, the learned Gabriel Naudé, librarian to four cardinals in succession, including Mazarin and Richelieu. His religious skepticism and indifference, his feigned assent to Church tradition, as well as his praise of Julian for his many virtues and

perfections, mark his *Apologie*¹⁷ as a harbinger of the next age.

After Naudé the orthodoxies of the *Grand Siècle* held the field; and when Bossuet in his *L'Apocalypse* (1689) proves Julian to have been the "Beast" of prophecy, the emperor actually achieved hypostasis! Meantime, Hellenic studies were becoming so academic that Racine was remarkable among the literati for his command of Greek; still, the century closed on the Julianic scholarship of Ezechiel Spanheim, the cosmopolitan savant-diplomat, whose revision of the *Opera* by Petau appeared at Leipzig in 1696.

IF THE SCHOLARS of the first two modern centuries left relatively little of Julian yet to be known until modern times, the men of letters of the 18th century—or rather, of the Enlightenment—dramatized him and made him a celebrity. Indeed, until the time of Ruskin and Swinburne¹⁸ he became a household word throughout the literate world; and, although in life he had hardly been *salonfähig*, he was now received in the best drawing-rooms and boudoirs.

His first introduction he owed to Montesquieu. Although the leading political thinker of his day was careful to clear his magistrate's robes of overt complicity in Julian's offences, like an earlier Gascon, Montaigne, he went out of his way in the *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains* (1734) to laud his wisdom, simplicity and moderation.¹⁹ In *De l'Esprit des Lois* (1748), a work of more than European vogue and influence, Montesquieu declared roundly that since Julian "no prince has been more worthy of governing mankind."²⁰ In his *Pensées*—materials he dared not publish—he agreed with Montaigne that Julian was never really an apostate, inasmuch as he had never been a Christian; and to explain the establishment of Christianity, Montesquieu merely pointed to two things: the long reign of Constantine and the brevity of that of Julian. When the majority of his subjects wavered be-

tween the old and the new religions, his return from Persia would have been fatal to Christianity, Montesquieu averred.²¹

This audacity, asserting sociological over religious interpretations, mounted even higher as the forces of free inquiry, toleration and "enlightened" reform took the offensive, with the standards of the imperial apostate high in the van. Churchmen like the gentle Massillon had reason for alarm; in 1718 he cried:

There may have been ungodly persons in the past but the world regarded them with horror. Today, however, ungodliness almost lends an air of distinction and glory; it is a merit that gives access to the great; that adds lustre, as it were, to humbleness of name and birth.

Of all the ungodly men of letters, the most *éffronté* was perhaps Voltaire. To him, Julian was the noblest Roman of them all, whose name appears time and again throughout the vast *Oeuvres Complètes* from 1736—often in the same connection, with little examination of evidence; always to comport with preconceived ideas.

Although Voltaire was a good Latinist, unlike Diderot he had little Greek; and, for detailed knowledge of Julian he drew largely upon a biography that appeared in Paris in 1735. Sketches of the life of Julian had appeared after 1660 prefixed to the French translations of his *Caesars*, but this five-hundred-page volume by the scholarly Oratorian, Jean-Philippe-René de la Bléterie was the earliest full-length study of the emperor.²² It is a reminder of the risks attendant upon publication under the Old Régime that the first edition was printed without the author's name. Such caution was well-advised, for "the pious abbé," as Gibbon—in an age of infidel abbés—describes him, avoided both roles taken by all but a very few of his predecessors, as he says, and was neither panegyrist nor detractor. Even today one may quote with respect a biographer who reveals his method simply: "J'en ai dit également le bien et le mal."

Whatever Voltaire's borrowings, his approach was quite his own. For him, Julian was always "the finest spirit of his age, and, after the Antonines, the most virtuous of all the emperors."²³ In the famous *Essai sur les Mœurs* (1756), however, he goes out of all bounds. "Christianity opened the heavens, but it destroyed the Empire," he proclaimed; and "if anyone could have restored the Empire, or at least could have retarded its fall, it was the Emperor Julian."²⁴

Nevertheless, Voltaire was embarrassed by the stubborn fact of his hero's boundless religiosity. It was "impossible that such a philosopher sincerely adored Hecate, Pluto, and Cybele," he argued, or "that he claimed to read the future in the liver of a bull." A "rigid Stoic" is what he really was, and his religion "that of the great Marcus Aurelius and the still greater Epictetus."²⁵ His famous hecatombs then, which Voltaire could not deny, became in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1764) concessions to the prejudices of his age.²⁶ Reasons of state forced him reluctantly to "choose between the lunacy of the christicoles and that of the pagans."²⁷ True, Frederick the Great rules over different sects, and—equally exempt from prejudice—in a like case takes sides with none, Voltaire argues in another place; but Frederick "has to do with Germans, and Julian had to do with Greeks, capable of denying to the death that two and two make four." To avoid attacks from all sides then, and to form a party of his own, Julian chose the lesser of two evils; and in time, had he lived, "he would have freed religion from the grossest superstitions and would have accustomed the Romans to a Maker of gods and men to whom all duty should be rendered."²⁸

The truth is that the sage of Ferney, who could depict Julian as

Infidèle à la loi, fidèle à la raison,
Scandale de l'Église, et des rois le modèle,
Ne s'écarta jamais de la loi naturelle,²⁹

had no grasp at all of what Gilbert Murray called "the Spirit of the Fourth

Century" and of Julian's place in it. This absence of psychological insight, as Lytton Strachey comments, was the weakness of his age. It is astonishing that this *dévot*, bemused by the other-worldly mood of late antiquity, this almost medieval man, with no notion of progress or social perfection, should have captured the imagination of the secular-minded age of "reason" and "natural law." What an odd figure the real Julian would have cut *chez Mme. du Deffand* or among the Immortal Forty!

Perhaps an answer to the puzzle of Julian's attraction for the *philosophes* is to be found in their longing for the philosopher-king, foreseen now in the Duc de Bourgogne for whom Fénelon composed the wishful *Télémaque* (1669), now in another heir-apparent, Frederick of Prussia — in the longing, that is, for a "reasonable" and tolerant prince: one capable, above all, of understanding the philosophers themselves and governing with their advice. Such an one would be no cranky James I of England, Voltaire told Frederick:

Un monarque éclairé n'est pas un roi pédant;
Il combat en héros, il pense en vrai savant.
Tel fut ce Julien, méconnu du vulgaire, Philosophe et guerrier, terrible et populaire.³⁰

As such a paragon did not exist, it was necessary to invent him. In a sense, then, Julian was part of the vast and varied utopian literature of 18th-century France.

Denis Diderot, himself a utopian of parts, made first mention of Julian in his *Pensées Philosophiques* (1746). Among other heterodoxies, this little book praised the "philosopher prince" for his tolerance, and insisted that, despite his paganism, he was no apostate; but, although printed and put about by stealth, it helped cost the fervid author three months in Vincennes.

More was to follow. Diderot, however, had learned to match wits with the

existing order, making no direct assault and relying on devious indirection. This became the passion of a lifetime, and the result, embodying the spirit of the age, was the great *Encyclopédie*. Here, in a lengthy article on Eclecticism (1755), the truly protean emperor is styled not only "the scourge of Christianity" but "the honor of Eclecticism." Indeed, far from being the religious syncretist — more Persian than Hellene — some might mistake him for, Julian was really the eclectic of the ancient world par excellence, a philosopher after Diderot's very own model:

who, trampling under foot prejudice, tradition, venerability, universal assent, authority — in a word, everything that overawes the crowd — dares to think for himself, to ascend to the clearest general principles, to examine them, to discuss them, to admit nothing save on the testimony of his own experience.³¹

Of all the imaginary Julians, this one is perhaps the most subjective and unreal. This impression is corroborated when Diderot goes on to assert that instead of denying Christians the study of eclecticism — here identified with Julian's version of Hellenism — the emperor would have done better to open the schools to them, for "they would have been infallibly attracted by the extreme conformity of the principles of the cult with the dogmas of Christianity."³²

After this farrago, the English men of letters of the same period — either pious critics of Julian, like Addison, Bishop Warburton, or John Wesley; or those like Horace Walpole and the heterodox third Earl of Shaftesbury, not unfriendly — appear straightforward, level-headed men. This was, of course, a correlative of their environment. Hanoverian England was governed by its gentlemen, who lived in quiet, secure exercise of privilege and power. Like Gallio, as Leslie Stephen said, they cared nothing for established creeds; but, however much they might agree with foreign freethinkers, they had nothing to gain by attacking a Church

already in their hands. Likewise, the English men of letters—drawn largely from the governing class and having no explicit grievances or propagandist impulses—were quite content to follow and express its prevailing attitudes and opinions.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, not only in its well-bred skepticism but in its Olympian composure and calm assumption of authority, was a perfect reflection of all this. The outlook of the age was also Gibbon's own; but, though he aspired to write as an amateur of fashion, he would—as he says—have no dealings with “superficiality of learning and boldness of philosophy.” Unlike historians of the intuitive school of Voltaire, who scorned particularity as “une vermine qui tue les grands ouvrages,” Gibbon would make no sacrifice of slow, painstaking scholarship.

As a result, his masterpiece combines the best historical learning, philosophy and style of the Enlightenment, and it is still the most familiar account of Julian in English literature. He shows his predilections, indeed, by devoting only one chapter to Constantine and three to Julian; but, nevertheless, in the “imperial sophist” he laments that

Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity: his superstition disturbed the peace and endangered the safety of a mighty empire.³³

If Gibbon did not see Julian in the round, he gave the best-balanced version of which his age was capable when he wrote:

the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress and to revive the spirit of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country and that he deserved the empire of the world.³⁴

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION and its aftermath was a disenchantment. Despite the boundless hopes of the *philosophes*, the light had failed; despite the promise of the Revolution, the new order of the world was no nearer; and, despite Voltaire's own assurance in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* that reason and tolerance had at last triumphed over “that insulting surname,”³⁵ Julian was still “the Apostate.”

The 19th century brought with it fresh problems aplenty. The great writers were unhappy about the existing order and with the dominant class, its major beneficiary—the very middle class the *philosophes* had trusted. Their unhappiness was the more profound in that they no longer had a sovereign remedy in reason, and therefore were without a common program making for not-too-distant change.

In this milieu of deepening human experience and greater realization of the self, Julian was interpreted afresh. No longer was he the shining paradigm of 18th-century fancy, “a splendour among the shadows,” who by sheer inadvertence had come to an untimely end; he now became a figure of defeat to whom the literati looked with sympathy at times approaching self-identification. Had he not shared their bookish prepossessions, and was he not a fellow-author? Had he not—“a stricken deer, that left the herd”—struggled alone against odds too great for him?

The Romantic absorption in the liberation of the individual personality contributed to this construction, turning Julian into a rebel and making his *Misopogon*—that self-revelation without parallel—the cry of a melancholy misfit, an “Outsider.” The limit of this absurdity was surely reached when David Strauss, the Tübingen theologian, entitled his ironic pamphlet about Julian *The Romanticist on the Throne of the Caesars* (1847) and compared him with the dreamy reactionary, Frederick William IV of Prussia!

It is a pity that Thomas Carlyle, who had read Gibbon at Kirkcaldy, was not

inspired to do for Julian what he did for Cromwell and Mohammed. The materials now lay open to all in Duncumb's English version (1784) of selected works of Julian as well as in two French translations—Tourlet's in 1821 and Talbot's in 1863—of the entire corpus.

But it was a Frenchman again who found compulsion in the emperor. Even in youth, Alfred de Vigny had been fascinated by the Julian he came upon in Gibbon and the Fathers; and, as unhappy experience with life intensified his pessimism, he came to see Julian as the symbol of the divinely chosen few, recurrent throughout history, who wrestled with the same moral chaos as afflicted Vigny in his own times. He became "the man in all history whose role, and character, and life might have been most pleasing to me."³⁶

The result was *Daphné*, a "moral biography" in dialogue form, begun about 1837 but never completed, and published only in 1912. Here Julian, unable to recover his Christian faith, engages Vigny-like in the quest for "l'esprit pur, partout présent et patent nulle part"—a kind of St.-Simonian ethic, a moral communion making for human happiness. But Libanius convinces him that the alternative to mystic faith is merely moral anarchy. Religious dogma, he tells him in a curious myth, is the crystal carved with hieroglyphs that safeguards the mummy—the eternal moral order. When the crystal is broken, the "public treasure" is in danger. Rather than jeopardize the suffering humanity he would serve, Julian gives up his life in Persia, leaving the new people, the Christian barbarians, to guard and transmit Daphne's treasure.

A generation later Henrik Ibsen was similarly drawn to Julian. Like Vigny too, he despaired of bourgeois civilization—of his "Age of Lead and Tin." The solution for the moral derangement of his time, Ibsen thought, was in a synthesis of the ethical idealism of

Christianity with pagan *joie de vivre*—a fusion he believed Julian had projected but had failed to bring off. This was to be the subject of a "world-historic drama," and Ibsen devoted six years to the preparation of what he regarded as his greatest work. Unfortunately, he relied chiefly on Albert de Broglie's opus on church and state in the fourth century³⁷—answered for Julian afterward by Constant Martha in his *Études Morales* (1883); and it is no wonder that he was unable to find inspiration in this smug, unsympathetic source.

Emperor and Galilean appeared finally in 1873, midway between Ibsen's earliest work and his last. It was bad history, inanimate art and feeble theater; few there are, if any, who would not yawn over it. Julian, who certainly was no exponent of exuberant paganism, and who "never gave a thought to love," as Ammianus testifies,³⁸ was refractory material for Ibsen's purpose; and to saddle him with a beautiful, scheming and debauched wife was to lack feeling. From a confused youth at the outset, Julian becomes a fantast; and at last, convulsed by disillusionment and doubt, a madman calling himself God. He failed through disloyalty to his own highest insights, but Ibsen was certain that the time was coming when *Emperor and Galilean* would be one. "I do believe," he wrote, "that the ideals of our age, in passing away, are tending toward that which in my drama I have tentatively called the Third Empire."

The tension between the spirit of Christianity and that of Hellenism in Western culture has never relaxed and still continues. However, a quarter of a century after the Norwegian dramatist, a Russian also prophesied the reconciliation of the two, and imagined Julian's design as an anticipation of his own. Dmitri Merezhkovski, a learned Hellenist and spokesman of Western culture in Russia at the turn of the century, made his novel *The Death of the Gods* (1895) revolve about

the struggle in Julian's nature for synthesis between the senses and the soul — between the risen Christ and 'Prometheus rising from the sea.'

Unlike Ibsen, he follows the facts closely, although romance creeps in with Arsinoë, Julian's *femme fatale*. Julian himself remains a haunted abstraction who, like the author and others in pre-revolutionary intellectual circles, ends in renunciation and apocalypse — in "Third Testament Christianity," the gospel of perfection through equality of flesh and spirit.

Not all 19th-century references to Julian in literature saw in him "a Spirit that strove/ For truth, and like the Preacher found it not." Two great French anti-clericals, following Comte — who, like Jerome, calls him "mad"³⁹ — gave him short shrift. To Sainte-Beuve, with his natural distaste for enthusiasm, Julian was "that bizarre mixture of pagan fanaticism and philosophic self-conceit, joined with heroic qualities and lofty spirit";⁴⁰ and the Ernest Renan of the *Nouvelles Études* could not understand how such a man of parts could "get himself the foul name of apostate for such contemptible follies."⁴¹ But to Renan's disciple Anatole France, Julian was the bright exemplar — unique in the Roman world — of the "tolerant fanatic . . . who had learned respect for human life and for the worship of thought." Although France "trembled at the thought of an emperor who never sleeps" — a shrewd *aperçu*, really — with characteristic charity he concludes his essay in appreciation of Julian with the apt demand; "Was it nothing to have united beneath the purple the virtues of the philosopher, the pontiff and the soldier?"⁴²

NO MAN OF LETTERS of the 20th century has taken up Julian where the 19th left off. It is not that the last word has been said. Despite the efforts and insights of all their predecessors, this best-

documented of all ancient personalities (after Cicero),⁴³ still eludes us. Rather, it is because the contest we have followed, having turned so long about the inner world of religion and the traditional absolutes linked with Julian, has in our day shifted to the outward and the temporal — to interests always secondary to him. This leaves the average reader, if he would know Julian, to hopelessly outdated literary interpreters.

In the 20th century Julian has once more been taken over by the scholars, as in the Middle Ages — by an exclusive company whose monographs the general public does not read. But such specialists as Franz Cumont, Joseph Bidez and their successors — whose precise mechanical scholarship is as different from that of the last century as present-day archeology is from Heinrich Schliemann's inspired fumblings — prepare the way for future men of letters who will make Julian live again.

Each age has found in him what it looked for, what was typical of itself. Just as "all history is contemporary history," as the saying goes, all Julians may be said to be contemporary. If we knew nothing of a past epoch but its image of the emperor, we would know a good deal of its general outlook.

There will be more such images, but will the paradoxes of his many-sided nature ever find solution?

Michigan State University

¹ "The Emperor Julian" in *Essays and Studies* (Baltimore, 1890) p. 358.

² *Ad Att.* 2. 1. 8.

³ "To the Citizens of Bosra" in *Works*, Loeb Library, vol. 3, p. 135.

⁴ *De Civ. Dei* 5. 21; 18. 52.

⁵ *Epist.* 70, in Migne, P. L. vol. 22, col. 666.

⁶ Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* 30. 20; Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.* 6. 2.

⁷ For details of the medieval view of Julian, see Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (Torino, 1883) vol. 2, pp. 121-32.

⁸ *Penées Philosophiques*, no. 44.

⁹ P. O. Kristeller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) pp. 73, 75.

¹⁰ *Essays* 2. 19, "Of Liberty of Conscience." See also 1. 16 and 42, and 2. 19 and 21.

¹¹ Ed. D. M. Frame (Stanford, 1957) pp. 955-56 and 965.

¹² 1. 14.

¹³ *Works*, Columbia ed. (New York, 1931) vol. 4, pp. 306-307.

¹⁴ *Julian's Arts and Methods to Undermine and Extirpate Christianity* (London, 1689).

¹⁵ Such as the version of P. Moret, *Advocat en Parlement et Contrôleur-Général des finances de Montaubon* (Paris, 1682).

¹⁶ *Essays* (ed. Oxford, 1900) vol. 2, pp. 66-67.

¹⁷ *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de magie* (La Haye, 1653) ch. 8, pp. 129-31.

¹⁸ For Ruskin, see *Works*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn (London, 1904) vol. 14, p. 268; for Swinburne see "The Last Oracle" in *Poems and Ballads*, 2nd Ser. (London, 1876) on the theme *Vicisti, Galliae!*

¹⁹ *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*, ch. 17.

²⁰ Bk. 24, ch. 10.

²¹ No. 98 (1550).

²² *Vie de l'Empereur Julien*, 2nd ed. (1746); Eng. tr. (1746) by Anna Williams, 1706-1783, the blind poetess-friend of Dr. Johnson.

²³ *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1819) vol. 25, *Fragments sur l'histoire générale*, art. vii, pp. 181-82.

²⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 13, *Essai sur les Moeurs*, ch. 11, p. 345.

²⁵ Vol. 25, p. 179.

²⁶ Vol. 37, art. "Julien," pp. 73-74.

²⁷ Vol. 30, *Considérations sur Julien*, p. 135.

²⁸ Vol. 30, *Histoire de l'établissement du Christianisme*, ch. 21, "Questions sur l'empereur Julien," p. 542.

²⁹ Vol. 10, *La Loi Naturelle*, p. 92.

³⁰ Vol. 11, *Epître xlii, "Au Prince Royal de Prusse,"* p. 108.

³¹ Quoted in Arthur McC. Wilson, *Diderot: the Testing Years, 1713-1759* (New York, 1957) p. 237.

³² *L'Encyclopédie*, vol. 5, p. 280.

³³ *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury (London, 1887) vol. 2, ch. 22, pp. 430-31.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 24, p. 529.

³⁵ *Oeuvres*, vol. 37, p. 69.

³⁶ Quoted in Pierre Moreau, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, ed. J. Calvet, vol. 8 (Paris, 1932) p. 289.

³⁷ *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au Quatrième Siècle*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1856-66).

³⁸ 25. 4. 2 (Loeb Library).

³⁹ *Discours sur l'ensemble du positivism* (1848) p. 99.

⁴⁰ *Causeries du Lundi* (1853) "Gibbon."

⁴¹ *Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse*, 2nd ed. (1884) in *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. 13, p. 29.

⁴² *La vie littéraire* (1892) vol. 4, "L'Empereur Julien."

⁴³ Salomon Reinach, "Un portrait authentique de l'Empereur Julien," in *Rev. Archéol.* ser. 3, 38 (1901) 337.

we see by the papers editor GRAVES H. THOMPSON

TEMPLE OF DIANA AT VRAVRON

The December 1 issue of Time related an interesting archeological discovery:

YEARS AGO Dr. John Papadimitriou, director of antiquities in Greece's Ministry of Education, began collecting references to an ancient temple of Diana that apparently flourished for more than a thousand years near ancient Vravron, a fertile place on the east coast of Attica about 24 miles east of Athens. Herodotus mentioned the temple. So did Aristophanes, who hinted at orgies there. In Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the goddess Minerva tells Iphigenia and Orestes to take the statue of Diana that they had snatched from a temple in Tauris [sic] on the Black Sea and set it up at Vravron.

Dr. Papadimitriou put together all his information from ancient sources and began to probe the ground at Vravron, now called Vraona, and inhabited by Albanian-speaking villagers, who grow tomatoes and cucumbers. Soon he found fragments of carved marble, which led him step by step toward the buried ruins of Diana's shrine. First to be found was the ceremonial "tomb" of Diana. Last June the overturned but well-preserved columns of the temple itself came to light. This month the diggers unearthed a magnificent stoa (portico) which can easily be restored. Many of the carved stones were in remarkably good condition because the floods of the River Erissinos (now dry) had covered them with silt.

Among the ruins Dr. Papadimitriou found many clues to the curious practices associated with the worship of the goddess. Though best known to the Greeks as the virgin huntress, she was from earliest times the patroness of pregnant women. Husbands made appropriate contributions, and Diana's priestesses inherited the jewelry, clothing, and other possessions of women who died in childbirth. Many of these offerings were found in the silty soil of Vraona.

Diana's worship at Vraona had a special feature: little girls dressed as bears. According to an ancient legend, a couple of Athenian juvenile delinquents killed Diana's holy bear, and she sent a pestilence to punish their city. To square themselves with

Diana, the citizens agreed to send five- to ten-year-old girls of noble families to Vraona to substitute for the murdered bear. No one seems to know whether these noble nymphets took part in the orgies mentioned by Aristophanes. Dr. Papadimitriou doubts it. They appear to have been housed, and perhaps chaperoned, in a sort of dormitory. In Diana's stoa, he found the stone bases of beds that he thinks were the very ones used by Diana's "bears."

THE LATINIZATIONS OF LINNAEUS

As scientists and classicists well know, Latin and Greek provide the chief bases of scientific terminology, and in that sense, at least, have never ceased to be international languages. This truth was again made evident in the syndicated feature "Ask Andy" appearing in the December 15 issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch and other newspapers. The article, here reproduced in part, was in answer to the question, "Who was Linnaeus?"

THE WORLD OF SCIENCE knows him as Carolus Linnaeus, which is the Latinized form of his name. This seems only fair, since he was the one who worked out our system for giving Latin or Latinized names to each plant and animal. He was born Karl von Linné in the year 1707. . . .

Young Karl was always curious about the plants and flowers which grew around him. . . . He made notes and more notes. The notes grew into a manuscript which he called System of Nature. This book set forth the binomial, or two-name, system which the world of science still uses to name and classify the world of nature. These scientific names are Latin or Latinized words. This enables scientists of all countries to understand them. French, English, Dutch, Italian and German scientists may not understand each other's languages. But all of them understand Latin.

Karl von Linné classified the plants and animals in groups. The members of a group may or may not be related by family ties. But they must have a number of very definite family resemblances. Such a group

is called a genus. The genus name is the first of the two scientific names given to a plant or animal. It is spelled with a capital letter and properly printed in italics.

The genus name for all oak trees is *Quercus*, the Latin word for oak tree. But there are different oak trees — the red oak, the white oak, the pin oak, and several others. The second word of the scientific name tells which oak tree. It is the species name, which tells which member of a genus a particular oak tree is. The species name follows the genus name, also in italics but with no capital letter. The red oak is *Quercus rubra*, the white oak is *Quercus alba*.

It was the fashion 250 years ago for a scientist to sign his work with a Latinized version of his name. The book setting forth the binomial system, plus 180 other books and papers, was signed *Carolus Linnaeus*, and it was by this name the young Karl von Linné became famous in the world of science.

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

As a sequel to an item entitled "Status of the Ancient Classics in Russia" which appeared in this department, October, 1956, Robert E. Lane of Phillips Academy has prepared the following summary of more recent articles in Russian journals on this subject. Mr. Lane feels that there is "ample evidence that there are many staunch supporters of the Classics in Russia, and of an increase in interest in this subject since 1950."

INTERESTING INFORMATION about the study of Greek and Latin in Russia is provided by several articles in Soviet journals of the past two years. Writing on "Tasks of Soviet Linguistics in the Area of the Ancient Languages" in *Reports of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*, Division of Literature and Language, vol. 17, issue 3 (May-June, 1958) 237-46, Prof. I. M. Tronskii of the Department of Classical Philology in the University of Leningrad refers to an article, "In Defense of a Forgotten Field," by the late Prof. N. F. Deratani, who was Chairman of the Department of Classical Philology of Moscow State University until his death in January, 1958. This article, from *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of Nov. 10, 1955, was quoted at length in *CJ* 52 (1958) 25-28.

Prof. Tronskii cites two replies to this article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, one on Aug. 25, 1956, and the other on Aug. 27, 1957. The long interval between the two

is not explained, but the earlier one reports receiving responses to Prof. Deratani's article from persons in the most varied professions, and cites seventeen by name. It declares that gaps in the knowledge of classical antiquity are becoming constantly more noticeable in Soviet culture, especially in the history of art, and are resulting in deficient education in artistic taste. The lack of books on classical antiquity in both libraries and bookshops is deplored. A professor emphasizes the international significance of the classical heritage. Other writers stress the importance of the classical languages for problems of ancient and medieval history and for the Moldavian language. It is possible, says one, that in a few years few persons will be qualified to publish Greek and Latin inscriptions and documents. . . . In addition to Prof. Deratani's original proposals of giving wider information on classical education, creating a special classical journal, and founding a division of classical languages in the Academy of Sciences, this article recommends increased publication of translations and of popular brochures on ancient history, philosophy, mythology, literature and art, and presenting series of public lectures on ancient culture. It also in effect accuses the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR and the Ministry of Enlightenment of the Russian Republic of paying lip service to the seriousness of the problem without taking any concrete action. It proposes making the Latin language a compulsory study for students majoring in Russian language and literature.

The second article, a year later, mentions a conference of classical specialists held in the summer of 1957 and attended by representatives of nine Russian universities, the Academy of Sciences, and other pedagogical and scientific institutes, at which the arguments already described were renewed. It blames the Ministry of Education for first failing to support the calling of an All-Union conference, and for then disregarding an invitation to send representatives, when the conference was finally held [apparently in Moscow, May 20-25, 1957] thanks to the enthusiasm of individual classicists. . . . A similar conference was then held at the University of Leningrad, May 30-31. At both sessions a variety of reports were presented, one of them being the article of Prof. Tronskii, to which we shall return. Other subjects included the Cretan-Mycenean texts, the history of Greek literature, problems of Roman literature, methods of teaching classical languages on the basis of comparative linguistics,

Homeric epic, Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," philosophical terms in Lucretius, the "Clouds" of Aristophanes, and the structure of Aeschylean tragedy....

In his own article Prof. Tronskii, after reviewing the growth of the comparative-historical approach to linguistics, describes the severely inhibiting effect in Russia of the teaching of N. Ya. Marr, which caused linguistic study of the classical languages to halt there almost entirely. In 1950 Marr's school was completely discredited, the personal attack on it by Stalin being an indication both of its previous privileged position and of its total annihilation. The content of Marr's teaching, which was indeed extraordinary and non-rational, has recently been examined in the thesis of Lawrence L. Thomas, "The Linguistic Theories of N. Ya. Marr," printed in vol. 14 of the *University of California Publications in Linguistics* (1957) and reviewed in *Language* 34 (1958) 89-91. One may suspect that the abandoning of Marr's doctrine was due to its offensiveness to the Chinese people, since it argued the development of language from simple to complex types, corresponding to primitive versus civilized states of society. Russian, being highly inflected, would be regarded in this system as much more civilized than Chinese!

Tronskii then lists the problems which are most urgent for classicists in the Soviet Union. He wants more complete treatment of the Greek epigraphical material from the coast of the Black Sea. He says that the deciphering of Cretan-Mycenean linear script B has made possible new work on Greek dialects, Homeric epic and the origin of the Hellenistic koine. (A Soviet scholar in this field, S. Ya. Lur'ye, published in 1957 *Language and Culture of Mycenean Greece* in a modest printing of 2,000 copies.) He is also interested in the history of the development of popular-conversational Latin, and opposes the hypothesis of a "vulgar" Latin which had already acquired under the Roman Empire a structure characteristic of the Romance languages. He believes Soviet energy should not be wasted on the construction of indices to the ancient authors, which could be done as well abroad. He would like to see a new analysis of Greek and Latin syntax, "based on the achievements of the Russian syntactical school" of Potebnya, Shakhmatov and others, as well as historical study of word formation. He regrets that the work of Theodore Zielinski, who taught at the University of St. Petersburg, on prose rhythms, has not been continued in the Soviet period.

The most pressing need of all, declares

Prof. Tronskii, is to raise the theoretical level of textbooks used in the teaching of classical languages. (In this regard, see the review by Hugh F. Graham in *CJ* 54 [1958] 90-92 of a Ukrainian textbook of Latin.) Tronskii says that with insignificant exceptions, the only languages whose grammar is still taught from pre-revolutionary textbooks are Latin and Greek. From a Latin textbook for juridical faculties published in 1957 he cites statements which he regards as linguistically inaccurate, concerning length of vowels and syllables, and the bases of declensions. In the teaching plans of classical departments he would like to see a separate course in the history of the literary language, in addition to historical grammar; and he feels that classical students should be trained in the comparative phonetics and morphology of Old Indic and Old Slavic, as well as of Greek and Latin. Linguistic questions must not fail to be treated in connection with the interpretation of authors. Efforts in linguistic study of the ancient languages in the Soviet Union must be coordinated, and opportunities to publish the results of research must be provided.

Prof. Deratani's surveys of work in classical philology in the Soviet Union and in Moscow State University during the past forty years, mentioned above, provide a mass of bibliographical references on a wide variety of subjects: history of ancient literature, origin of ancient Greek, Greek dialects, Egyptian borrowings in Greek, etymology, use of the article, tenses, history of the Latin language, Italic dialects, ancient theories of Lithuanian, Greek papyri, Greek romance, ancient realism, political and social interpretations of classical literature (Marxist, of course), popular folklore, esthetics, poetics, oratory, comedy and many others. Although Deratani diplomatically attributed the shortage of classical scholars to a general lack of trained personnel in the country, it is clear that he believed that the Classics had not received the support which they deserved from offices of government. He pointed out that classical departments remained only in Moscow, Leningrad, and Lvov, but that chairs of classical philology were found also in some other universities, and also in the large pedagogical (teacher-training) higher educational institutions.

Readers of *CJ* who wish to read more about this subject are invited to obtain complete English translations of the articles of Prof. Tronskii and Prof. Deratani from Mr. Robert Lane, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.

BOOK REVIEWS

editor VERNE B. SCHUMAN

The Greek Novella in the Classical Period,
by SOPHIE TRENNER. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 191. \$5.50.

THOUGH STUDIES in Greek fiction are beginning to receive more attention, the whole subject is still one of the by-ways for the ordinary classicist, and it is difficult to think of the world of Chariton or Heliodorus as belonging to the same civilization as that of Euripides and Lysias. The present book, though small in size, goes far to bridge this gap, with much new information on fictional elements throughout Greek literature, and many fresh insights into those elements which have been well known.

The author defines the novella as "an imaginary story of limited length, intended to entertain, and describing an event in which the interest arises from the change in the fortunes of the leading characters or from behaviour characteristic of them; an event concerned with real-life people in a real-life setting." Then she states clearly her purpose in organizing her material as she did: first to reconstruct from traces found in surviving literature (and occasionally from other representational forms) the novella of the Attic period with reference to its subject matter. The second purpose is to reconsider the theory of the Ionian novella, as a result of which she states a conclusion somewhat different from the canonical attitude towards these brief tales. The pre-classical age provides the subject for the first chapter; historical legends become novelle when emphasis on the experiences of the individual becomes paramount.

The author does not deny the Eastern origin or connection with many early stories, but sensibly follows those who tend to minimize this influence; she notes several instances in which Greek motifs are apparently older than any Indian or Eastern parallels. The development of character types, especially well represented in Aesop and stories of racial type, as for instance the numerous stories about the luxuriosness of the Sybarites, is a further step in the development of the novella and true fiction.

A brief chapter describes the cultural climate of Athens (in the "Attic Period"), especially noting the importance of story-telling as an activity of the private life of the Athenian. There is comparatively little information available here, but enough

to prove the author's point, that is, the vogue of story-telling at all levels of society. Still, there is not a single original example of a novella of the classical period which has survived. Indication of this important part of Athenian social life must be pieced together from widely scattered references, liberally interpreted. The next several chapters sort this miscellaneous information as it applies to historiography, Euripidean tragedy, Old Comedy, Middle and New Comedy (the longest chapter in the book, as might well be expected) and rhetoric, especially Theophrastus and Lysias. This section will perhaps have the greatest interest to the general reader, as there are a number of fresh interpretations of well-known passages which come to light when seen reflected in the novella type. For instance, this study of Euripides shows that there was in Attic folklore a number of motifs wrongly thought to have been invented by later genres of literary entertainment. The *Helen* of Euripides is not so much comedy as sometimes thought. The combination of slavery and recognition motifs appears original with Euripides. Two novel motifs introduced by Euripides in the *Hippolytus* are the nurse as confidante and go-between, and the romantic motif of love-sickness; both have affinities more with the novella than with heroic legend. Stories involving voluntary sacrifice of one's life for one's country appear only from the middle of the fifth century ("the story of Codrus' death is neither ancient nor popular," p. 76, note 3). Consequently, the usual attribution to Euripides of the dominant influence of later narrative genres is seen to be limited. Contrasts between Plautus' *Menaechmi* and Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* also emphasize the importance of the novella as a source for both, and the difference between the character of Euclio and Molière's adaptation in *L'Avare* may again be seen in popular story-telling.

The general impression from the central portion of Miss Trenkner's book is that there was a very great deal of story-telling in Athens, that the authors of sophisticated literature were intimately familiar with popular story material, and that the question of literary influence suggests the use of such stories rather than an exclusive dependence on formal written sources. Hence the idea of the "innovations" of Euripides

takes on a new dimension; hence the notation that New Comedy is so largely modeled on Euripides must be greatly modified to take into account the novella as a source common to both; hence the derivation of the Greek adventure novel from New Comedy omits the necessary element of the novella.

Chapter VIII, "The Theory of the Ionian Origin of the Novella in the Light of Athenian Narrative," is somewhat misnamed, and gives the impression of having been written rather apart from the rest of the book. One section entitled "The Repertoire of the Athenian Novella" is a useful summary of the motifs discussed, but has no direct connection with the "Ionian Theory"; a second section, "Two Aspects of Athenian Story-Telling," repeats a distinction made and more fully illustrated elsewhere (in Chapter I). The third section, "Criticism of the 'Ionian Theory,'" casts doubt on the prevailing theory that the Greek novella was a literary genre created and developed by the Ionians, best represented by the *Milesiaka* of Aristides. The conclusion is: "Ionia played an important but a transitory part in the formation of Greek novella narrative; from the classical period onwards the novella proper is a universal Greek genre."

This book is well edited with the usual care to be expected from the publishers. There are two illustrations of vase paintings (showing episodes paralleling stories to be found in Old Comedy). I noted a few misprints: p. 91, note 5, Menander received an extra *e*; p. 130, note 2, Webster's book is abbreviated *Stud. in Kom.*, though elsewhere the more English *C* is printed; p. 134, Josephus' title is abbreviated *Anth. Ind.* Most unfortunate was a citation of an article by the author printed in *Mnemosyne* and giving (almost verbatim) the section dealing with Plautus' *Casina*; this is printed (p. 131, n. 1) as IV (1953), pp. 516 ff; the correct reference is Series IV, Volume 6 (1953) 216 ff.

The most serious defect in organization is found in the "Index of Subjects." For a book of this sort, an analytical index would be most useful, even if admittedly quite difficult. There is not too much point in a simple entry of Sophocles, followed by seven page numbers. The *Cyropaedia*, mentioned on several occasions in the book and certainly of importance and interest in studying the novella, is not indexed at all; Xenophon, the historian, receives an entry, but the references are not complete. Heliodorus is not indexed at all, and there are many other omissions.

There is a useful "Index of Motifs" bring-

ing the book to an end; this is obviously based on the Indexes of Aarne and Thompson, and though here arranged alphabetically (as is indeed most helpful in this instance) cross reference to the great Thompson Motif Index should not be too difficult. We might cavil at including "Gyges and Candaules" as "motif" or "Ares and Aphrodite," but such entries should not really cause anybody any trouble.

The Greek Novella is a worthy example of international scholarship. Written in Latin at Warsaw, the first version was destroyed by fire. A French version was presented just after World War II at the University of Brussels. The English version, completed while the author was Research Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is now published posthumously. It should have a wide audience among all those who are interested in ancient fiction.

JAMES W. ALEXANDER
University of Georgia

Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and the Sources of Its Reconstruction, I, by W. GERSON RABINOWITZ. (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, xvi, no. 1) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957.

IN ROSS'S VOLUME OF Aristotle: *Select Fragments* (Works of Aristotle translated into English, XII), one-fifth of the material included consists of fragments identified as being from Aristotle's *Protrepticus*.¹ In a scholarly and careful way, Mr. Rabinowitz examines the grounds for this attribution, and comes to the final conclusion that they are inadequate, and in some details implausible. It is not either an established fact, nor even a high historical probability, that the passages in question (mainly from Iamblichus) represent the work of young Aristotle at all.

The result is important, because it has immediate bearing on a philosophic discussion where the stakes are high. The way in which young Aristotle became (or always was) an Aristotelian is not only a challenging historical problem,² but relates directly to the way in which we are to interpret two of the major philosophic systems of the West.³

Some interpreters would make young Aristotle a competent and enthusiastic Platonist, with or without Neo-Platonic overtones to his Platonism. As evidence for this belief, the *Protrepticus* fragments would be

quite important; and Jaeger, Merlan and Zürcher have made fairly extensive use of them. But if one thinks that young Aristotle never understood Platonism in its most subtle form, whether because the Academy did not include this in its curriculum, because Aristotle was not intelligent enough to follow mathematics and dialectic, or because he was born an Aristotelian and remained one in the Academy, these fragments would be an embarrassment. They seem particularly awkward for defenders of McKeon's systematic interpretation which denies radical genetic reversals in Aristotle's doctrine; and McKeon and his students seem to have preferred never to mention them.

The authorship of the passages in question has been attributed to young Aristotle as though it were historic fact, whereas in reality it is a complex, cumulative construction of scholarly hypotheses that led to the attribution. Mr. Rabinowitz shows how this has come about, and also shows that at least some of the assumptions involved are incorrect (e.g., that Iamblichus composed his own *Protrepticus* by piecing verbatim quotes together), and others are purely conjectural (e.g., the identification of the *Protrepticus* and the *Hortensius*, discussed in my note 1, below).

Not that young Aristotle, on some interpretations, could not have written just such passages; but the negative conclusion of the present study (p. 95) is that there is no way now of knowing whether in fact he did so.

Since this study is labelled Part I, perhaps Mr. Rabinowitz will want to qualify his strong negative conclusion in a second study. For I do not think that he is correct in saying that we know practically nothing about this lost Aristotelian work, unless he means to restrict "knowledge" to precise determination of single, independent questions of fact. From the lists of Aristotle's writings, the other fragments, and the sparse information that is extant about the *Protrepticus* itself, one can reconstruct, with as much probability as history usually allows, a number of features of the work. But these reconstructions do not seem off-hand to favor one answer rather than another to the baffling question, how a young man with such an excellent Platonic education became an Aristotelian.⁴

ROBERT S. BRUMBAUGH

Yale University

⁴ Ross, pp. 29-53, nos. 4-11, are the passages of Iamblichus currently attributed to the *Protrepticus*. In preparation for his examination of these passages, Rabinowitz (pp. 1-6) also shows that

the usual identification of the *Protrepticus* as the (sole or principal) source of Cicero's *Hortensius* is not proven by Trebellius Pollio's description of Cicero's work as *ad exemplum protreptici*; this simply means that the *Hortensius* falls in the protreptic genre. (See Ross, p. 27.)

² A. E. Taylor would have him born an Aristotelian, and as such not endowed with talent to appreciate the higher mathematics and dialectic of the Academy; R. P. McKeon would apparently treat him as though he had been born an Aristotelian, at the age of 37 (at least, I find no serious account taken in McKeon's various studies of fragments dating from a time when Aristotle was younger); W. Jaeger makes him the romantic hero of an epic in which he masters Platonism, but is forced finally to modify and reject it, in spite of his personal affection; J. Zürcher makes the author of the fragments a genuine Platonist, and assuming that a Platonist would not retrograde into the naturalistic position which he finds in the mature works, assumes Theophrastus the author of some 80 per cent of what we currently accept as "Aristotle."

³ At the moment, there are almost as many accounts of Aristotelianism as there are of Lord Jim in Conrad's novel. P. Merlan's *Plato to Neo-Platonism* adds another set of ideas to a debate which already included an Aristotele with his own philosophic balance of materialism and idealism, a balance our own century should emulate (McKeon), a second-rate Platonist (Taylor), a dynamic, changing thinker (Jaeger), an existentialist (various authorities; Heidegger has just completed a study of *Physics* 2.1, for example); a superlative, common-sense, patient scholar (Ross); a thinker mistaken in his religion, physics, logic, astronomy, mathematics and other places (Whitehead, collecting his various appraisals); and several more.

⁴ But, as a constructive comment, I suggest that the reader go through the fragments with the hypotheses in mind: 1) that young Aristotle, in the Academy, wrote dialogues and treatises, of which at least the former were variations on themes by Plato (and on themes treated by Plato in his own dialogues); 2) that in the variations, the themes are already colored by an interest in empirical confirmation which is typical of what we think of as mature Aristotelianism.

Ancient Numismatics: A Brief Introduction, by C. H. V. SUTHERLAND. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1958. Pp. iii, 29.

DR. SUTHERLAND, Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, has produced a pamphlet which is unparalleled as the perfect way for persons of intelligence to approach ancient numismatics. The booklet will be no less exciting to those professing some degree of mastery over aspects of Greek and Roman coins. The essays grew out of the Winslow Lectures at Hamilton College and the invaluable summer seminar of the American

Numismatic Society in 1957. One presumes the booklet is available for sale at the Society (Broadway at 156th Street, New York, 32); it ought to have a wide circulation.

This is not a booklet designed to teach one how to collect or study ancient coins. Books such as H. W. A. Linecar's *Coins*, published in 1955 in Benn's series "Practical Handbooks for Collectors," or *Coin Collecting*, by J. G. Milne, C. H. V. Sutherland, and J. D. A. Thompson (Oxford, 1951) will lead one to other works containing basic general information. Dr. Sutherland's essays are titled "Numismatic Study down to the Nineteenth Century" and "The Modern Study of Ancient Numismatics: Scope and Content." The first tells of medieval attitudes to ancient coins (superstition and legend, mixed with Old and New Testament coloring: ancient Greek coins of Rhodes becoming the thirty pieces of silver), of Renaissance curiosity and collecting (Petrarch, Emperor Maximilian I, Matthias Corvinus), and of scientific developments from 1650 well into the Victorian era (Charles I, William Hunter, Joseph Eckhel and Theodor Mommsen). The companion essay touches on the way coins explain little-known people and events in ancient history (Uranius Antoninus in Syria, Carausius II in Britain), on ancient economics studied from numismatic evidence (Athenian trade, Greek silver in Afghanistan, or Roman gold in India), on the propaganda value of ancient coin designs (Augustan and Julio-Claudian politics), and on the contribution of ancient coins to the study of ancient art (lost Greek statues, master die-cutters, commemorative issues, or Roman personifications).

The essays are minutely footnoted with major and minor works in which the reader can follow up suggestions made in Dr. Sutherland's compact text. There are no illustrations, and none are needed, to detract from the crisp and vivid style. Pope's lines written as preface to Addison's *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* (1789) are quoted more fully by Dr. Sutherland (p. 10), but two of them sum up what the booklet reviewed here recalls for us in ancient coins:

In one short view, subjected to our eye,
Gods, emp'rors, heroes, sages, beauties
lie.

Those who wish to learn more about post-Renaissance study of ancient coins, particularly in England, should read Prof. Michael Grant's "A Great Age of Numismatics," The President's Address of the Royal Numismatic Society, June 16, 1954, published

as pp. iii-xv of the 1954 *Numismatic Chronicle*. This, in turn, is thoroughly documented. Pope's numismatic couplets are quoted with variant readings.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Q. S. F. Tertulliani Ad Scapulam: Prolegomeni, Testo Critico e Commento, by ANTONIO QUACQUARELLI (*Opuscula Patrum I*) Rome, Paris, Tournai, and New York: Desclée, 1957. Pp. 131.

THIS SHORT, spirited and dignified "open letter" addressed, in A.D. 212, to the pro-consul of Africa, who had been persecuting the Christians, refutes the charge of lese-majesty, and warns of the punishments reserved for all who torment the faithful. The *libellus* contains the oft-quoted statement affirming liberty of conscience: "It is not religion's part to compel religion — which one ought to enter into freely, not by force" (p. 58, ll. 10-11); and other noteworthy passages: "You can perform your duty as judge, and at the same time remember your duty as a human being" (63, 5-6); "The Christian is no man's enemy, least of all the emperor's. Knowing that the emperor is appointed by God, the Christian must love, revere and honor him, and wish him well, together with the whole Roman Empire, as long as the world shall endure. For that is how long the Empire will endure" (59, 39-45).

The present volume is organized as follows: the Prolegomena (preceded by a list of works cited) comprise four chapters: Ch. I deals with the MS tradition of *Ad Scapulam*; II with the previous editions, and also with the division into chapters and their titles; III with the rhetorical figures exemplified in the text, and the clausulae; and IV discusses *Ad Scapulam* as an open letter, the date of its composition, the information available about Scapula, and the contents of the work. The editor next records several passages inspired by Scripture, with the pertinent Biblical (Vulgate) verses alongside;¹ and lists, with brief remarks on them, the translations of *Ad Scapulam* into various modern tongues. Then we have the text, the commentary and finally an Index of names and notabilia.

Quacquarelli's edition appears soon after that by E. Dekkers (Turnhout, 1954), and now on its heels, in turn, comes the edition by Vinzenz Bulhart (C.S.E.L. 76, 9-16 [Vienna, 1957]). We are fortunate in that each

**The Fourth New England
LATIN WORKSHOP**

June 29 - July 18

Tufts University 1959 Summer School
in cooperation with the
Classical Association of New England

**GUEST LECTURERS — EXHIBITS
MUSEUM TRIPS
RECREATIONAL FACILITIES
SUMMER THEATER**

Concurrent Workshop in French

For complete information write:

**Professor Van L. Johnson
Edward E. Cohen Fine Arts Center
TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Medford, Massachusetts**
Suburban Campus in Historic
Metropolitan Boston

of these texts has virtues of its own. For his text Quacquarelli utilized all the twelve extant MSS, and editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which provide readings from three other codices now lost. MS M (Conv. Soppr. S. Marco 1. vi. 9, saec. XV), now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, is the best, but Quacquarelli is nevertheless forced to be selective. Bulhart has even greater confidence in M.

This is not the place for a treatment in detail of Quacquarelli's text, but I would indicate approval of a number of his readings in passages where the recent editors have not been in agreement: *animas nostras auctorati . . . accedimus* (57.4-5); *necdum* (57.15); *bonitas nostra* (57.19); *contremiscimus . . . gaudemus* (58.3-4); *ni si contentiosi* (58.16); *effecerant* (59.36); *consecutum solo* (59.50-51); *sunt eius* (59.56); *ipsius quomodo* (59.58-59); *expectamus* (60.82); *areae non sint* (61.5); *cum viris verribus* (62.38); *Mavilum ad bestias* *damnasset statim* (62.51-52); *subsecuta est nunc* (62.52-53); *Et memento de cetero* (62.54); *se incidisse in* (64.29); *accusatione* (64.33); *remediatu sunt* (64.45); *educatus* (65.57); *queritur* (65.79); *maiora praemia sequuntur* (66.98); *decimata a te*

cum contubernales (67.24-25); *ipse et* (68.52).

On the other hand, I should prefer: *ut etiam* in place of *ante cum* (57.4); *solo tamen Deo* (59.51); *agamus* (60.75); *civitas impune latura* (61.2) — Quacquarelli's apparatus does not explain his omission of *impune*, which we find in all the recent editions; *nuntiemus*, so spelled (61.19); *sibi videntur impune* (62.47); *Thysdri* (64.20); *scissoque . . . negavit* (64.32-33), if Bulhart is correct in reading *negavit* in M — this reading is not indicated in either Dekkers' apparatus or Quacquarelli's; *auditurum hominem secundum* (64.34); *ante tribunalia* (67.10); *iussis* (67.12); probably *deilo* (67.13), but so accented — unfortunately the editors read the Greek of the MSS differently; *Quid ipsa* (67.23); and I should set a comma at the end of 67.25 and transfer the mark of interrogation now placed there to the end of 67.28. Quacquarelli's apparatus throws no light on the reading *vereatur* at 59.42 (edd. *revereatur*); nor on *testimonium* at 65.61 (edd. *testimonia*, which must be correct); nor on *ipsum* (61.6) — here Dekkers and Bulhart assign different readings to M. *Torpacion* and *Evo* (64.50-51) are persistent problems, and certainty seems impossible. Unlike other editors, Quacquarelli apparently does not seek consistency in spelling: *quorundam* at 61.30, but *quorundam* at 64.42; *paene* at 60.74 and 62.44, but *pene* at 61.26; *acclamasset* at 61.4, but *adclamans* at 65.68.

Among the translations the editor fails to list the valuable English version by Father Rudolph Arbesmann, New York, 1950 (*The Fathers of the Church*, pp. 145-61).

The commentary is rich and useful, especially for its interpretation of language, history and law; it contains pertinent citations from classical and Christian works, and draws also on recent studies of Tertullian.

Whether or not Tertullian, who was trained as a lawyer, was definitely a professional rhetor, rhetoric yet permeated his thought and style. Quacquarelli notes the rhetorical form dictated by the persuasive purpose of this "open letter," and reveals the stylistic harmony effected by the Gorgianic and other figures (homoeoteleuton in varied patterns predominates) and by the clausulae. Indeed, in order to reproduce the original force and flavor of the prose, he arranges the text by stichoi, with the very desirable result that the rhythms become sensible to the eye and ear. Attention to the figures and rhythms also plays a proper part at several junctures in the recension of the text. Quacquarelli finds that of the 69 periods in *Ad Scapulam*

every one ends in a metrical clausula, and that of these the most favored is the cretic followed by a trochee; of the 22 clausulae that are also "rhythymical" (i.e., accentual) the favored cadence is, in the later terminology, the *cursus planus*. His study here supplements the like, and excellent, study of the clausulae in Tertullian's *De Anima* by J. H. Waszink (*Vigiliae Christianae* 4 [1950] 212-45).

HARRY CAPLAN

Cornell University

¹ Pp. 49-50. With reference to the involved problem of Biblical citations in Tertullian's text, the reader may now wish to consult Bulhart, "Tertullian-Studien," *Sitzungsber. Oest. Akad. der Wiss. (Philos.-hist. Kl.)* 231, 5 (1957) 37-39.

The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts, by G. S. KIRK and J. E. RAVEN. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 487. 55s. \$9.50.

KIRK AND RAVEN here present an outstanding contribution to scholarship on the pre-Socratics, one which is sure to take its place as a standard work, at least for a good many years. Though it is sufficiently less easy to read, and more expensive, that it will not supplant Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* (last revised in 1920, recently re-issued in paperback form), it may be regarded as in many respects a successor, and a worthy one, to that book. The authors cover almost exactly the same ground as Burnet: they omit the Sophists and, except for occasional mention, the minor figures, mostly Pythagoreans and atomists, included by Diels; they give relatively small space to Leucippus and Democritus; and their attention is focused mainly on the specifically "physical" (and metaphysical) interests of the philosophers. Unlike Burnet, they give the Greek text; also unlike him, they do not attempt to give all the fragments of the major figures. As to interpretation, there are of course many differences in detail, but it may be said that in general they belong to the same tradition. They are, rightly, much more cautious in the use of the word "science," and are concerned to demonstrate a continuity as well as a contrast between mythological and rational thought. In this they make good use of the insights of Cornford and others and of recent discoveries and scholarship in various fields, including the comparative mythology of the early Near East. Still, they maintain clearly

the difference: "What gave [the Ionians] the title of philosopher was their abandonment of mythopoetic forms of thought, of personification and anthropomorphic theistic explanations, and their attempt to explain the seen world in terms of its seen constituents" (p. 72).

After an introductory note on the sources and a long and rather inconclusive chapter on "The Forerunners of Philosophical Cosmogony," they take up thinkers and schools individually, in seventeen chapters divided into three groups. Though the chapters can well be read separately, this is not merely a collection of discrete studies. In three introductory notes on "The Ionian Thinkers," "The Italian Schools," and "The Post-Parmenidean Systems," and in concluding summaries appended to several chapters, the authors give their interpretation of the development of pre-Socratic thought and the interrelation of the various systems and persons. Indeed, the attempt to relate each system to its predecessors is a guiding principle throughout, and the book brings not only contributions of detail but a step in the direction of that soundly-based understanding of the pre-Socratic period as a whole, toward which scholarship has been working.

The thought of Parmenides is seen as centrally important in the course of philosophical development. Dissatisfied with the views of his predecessors, and in particular with that of Pythagoras, to which he at first adhered, he developed his own highly original system, establishing in the process certain canons with which his successors felt constrained to comply: that being cannot come from not-being, that void is nonexistent, that plurality cannot come from unity, and that the existence of motion cannot be taken for granted but must be explained (p. 319). In discussing the post-Parmenidean systems the authors devote a part of each chapter to showing how each is, in its own way, "a deliberate reply to Parmenides." The atomism of Leucippus and Democritus, "in many ways the crown of Greek philosophical achievement before Plato" (p. 426), is regarded, like the pluralism of Empedocles and Anaxagoras, as having been developed in the effort to provide for plurality and motion, while adhering to the Parmenidean canons.

Raven writes the chapters on "The Western Schools," and in general follows the argument of his earlier book, *Pythagoreans and Eleatics* (Cambridge, 1948), that as Parmenides' criticism was mainly against the Pythagoreans, Zeno's arguments against plurality and motion were also directed primarily against their theory, in which number, composed of a "plurality of units,"

is tantamount to atoms. He is even more cautious than in that book, not only refusing the term "number-atomism" used by Cornford and others but emphasizing that the Pythagorean assumption that units are spatially extended was "only tacit" (p. 247; cf. 290 f.). He has abandoned Burnet's view that the Being of Melissus, though it has no body (frag. 9), is yet not incorporeal. Still, his insistence on a "special anti-Pythagorean significance" in the Eleatic arguments remains.¹

The authors think of the Milesians as seeking "a purely materialist explanation of the world," and contrast them in this with the Pythagoreans who "employ stranger principles and elements . . . the reason being that they took them from non-sensible things" (p. 216, quoting Aristotle). Perhaps "naturalistic" would be a better word here than "materialist," especially in view of the fact that the Pythagoreans and Eleatics "end in a corporealism hardly less total, if much more difficult to understand, than that of the Milesians" (*ibid.*).

They would restrict the extent of the important fragment of Anaximander by omitting the first part of the sentence (*ex hōn dē he- gēnēsis esti tois oūsi, kai tēn phthorān eis taūta gīnesthai*: in their translation, "and the source of coming-to-be for existing things is that into which destruction, too, happens"), largely on grounds of vocabulary (the abstracts *gēnēsis* and *phthorā* are not well-established in pre-Socratic times), but partly as expressing "basic dogma" of Aristotle. These arguments do not seem quite convincing, nor does their suggestion as to the sentiment of Anaximander which Theophrastus may have been paraphrasing (p. 121).

The chapter on Heraclitus strikes another blow at the naive view, still so often heard, that Heraclitus thought all things without exception to be in flux. The fundamental fact for Heraclitus, they maintain, is not the change that is always taking place, but the order and regularity, exemplified by the *Logos*, "which ensures that change does not produce disconnected, chaotic plurality" (p. 205). They hardly seem to have answered the objections of G. Vlastos, in his response to Kirk's earlier *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments*,² to the rejection of certain of the river-fragments (91, first part, and 49a), and to certain other points; but the reader will not be seriously misled by this chapter. The two interpretations agree that for Heraclitus change is constant and that regularity, measure, and proportion are characteristic of it; the difference of opinion relates to the emphasis.

It remains uncertain (though it seems unlikely) whether Heraclitus believed in a periodic conflagration, transforming all things into fire.³ Some of the arguments on which Kirk and Raven rely in rejecting the theory are not very strong. Neither frag. 30 (" . . . an everlasting fire, kindling in measures and going out in measures") nor frag. 90 ("All things are an equal exchange for fire and fire for all things, as goods for gold and gold for goods") can "utterly invalidate" it, as they claim (p. 202, note). In 30, even if the measured changes are "simultaneous," there may well be a temporary preponderance, or even a moment of total victory, of fire, just as (turning to the "trade-image" of frag. 90) a merchant might at one time have all gold or all goods.

There is an interesting addition to the many modern interpretations of Anaxagoras' physical theory. It is characterized by simplicity and the determination both to understand him in the light of his philosophical background and to interpret him from his own words rather than from what he might have said if he had thought of it.

The discussion of Empedocles, which "owes much to the unpublished work of the late F. M. Cornford" (p. 323), centers mainly on the problem of the apparent inconsistency of the two poems he wrote, especially as to the nature of the soul and its immortality. It is suggested, following a hint of Aristotle, that the portion of Love which each individual contains, according to the poem *On Nature*, provides the physical basis for the immortal and migrating soul of the *Purifications*.

In their use of sources Kirk and Raven are critical and rather conservative. They reject the fragments of Philolaus, omit Archytas altogether, and deny the value as evidence of the Pythagorean doxography from Alexander Polyhistor in Diogenes Laertius 8. 24 ff., which Raven formerly accepted (*Pythagoreans and Eleatics*, pp. 159 ff.). They do seem to give more credit to Aristotle than would some other recent writers, as for example in the chapters on Pythagoreanism; but they regard with great (exaggerated?) suspicion the authority of Theophrastus. To take an example which is in itself unimportant, they suppose that though he quotes from it and comments on its style, Theophrastus did not have an actual copy of the book of Anaximander (p. 101). Again, it is hard to see what is gained by insisting so eagerly, against virtually all the meager evidence we have, that Anaxagoras wrote only one book, and that a short one (pp. 365 f.).

There are 619 numbered passages in Greek, each translated at the foot of the page on which it occurs. Indeed, no Greek is left untranslated except for an occasional word or phrase in the commentary. The translations are excellent — close, unambiguous, clear, and readable. Each translated passage is conveniently labeled with the same bold-face numeral as the original, but references are of course not repeated. Not all of these passages are "fragments," exact or otherwise; many are, rather, illustrative material from various sources. An unwary undergraduate who went through this material only, conveniently set apart as it is, would be reading not only the philosopher's words but doxographical accounts and much other illustrative material, including quotations to illuminate by *contrast* the thought of the chapter's principal subject. This is not an adverse criticism but a *caveat* for teachers; the book is not intended primarily for the *tiro*.

The fullness with which the actual fragments of various philosophers are represented varies. For Parmenides we have 136 lines of the 160 preserved, for Heraclitus 51 of the 126 fragments given as genuine by Diels-Kranz, and for Democritus only 9 of the nearly 300 supposedly authentic fragments. The authors do not hesitate to rearrange the material, quoting to suit the development of their exposition: Parmenides' fragment 7-8, for example, a continuous passage of 66 lines, is all given, but in eight different sections. But few would quibble over a broken fragment.

In quoting "verbal" fragments the authors add the numbers given them in the B-sections of Diels-Kranz, but for the many doxographical passages from the A-sections references to Diels-Kranz are omitted except in cases where the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* has more context than Kirk and Raven quote. This is sometimes inconvenient: when one wishes to refer to the Diels-Kranz notes on an A-passage, it is too often necessary to consult their *Stellenregister*.

Textual criticism is not a feature of the book; a general reference is made in the preface to the textual notes in Diels-Kranz. Where it seems important for the interpretation, the authors have usually recorded variants and restorations; the only reservation to be made here is as to the wisdom of occasionally printing two fragments continuously without indication of the point of break (as at Empedocles 11-12, p. 323).

It may be rather disappointing to some that the authors decided to restrict themselves to the physical and cosmological in-

A NEW PROGRAM IN LATIN

Summer Refresher Courses In California

June 23 to July 24

- **REVIEW OF LATIN FUNDAMENTALS**
Latin S-121 4 units
- **TEACHERS' COURSE IN CAESAR**
Latin S-153 2 units

Both courses carry upper division credit and are designed for teachers already teaching in other fields who anticipate teaching Latin but feel the need of refresher work.

For complete brochure write
Dean of the Summer Session
COLLEGE of the PACIFIC
Stockton 4, California

terests of the chief philosophers, that a new attempt at synthesis should not cast its net wider, to show philosophy in its relation to other concerns, as one of the facets of the intellectual life of the period. Solon is mentioned only incidentally, Hesiod only as a cosmogonist. The Sophists are omitted. The introductory sections usually headed "Date and Life" are much taken up with chronological data; while a few give some of the evidence for the practical and political activities of the philosophers, there is almost no attempt to correlate this with their more strictly philosophical pursuits.

All scholars will find the book rewarding, however, with new and valuable interpretations in nearly every chapter. At the same time, it is an excellent book for one beginning serious study of the subject. The selection of texts is carefully and wisely made, and the reader is not led to an erroneous impression that the subject is here exhausted. The main ideas of the principal figures are well brought out, and in addition the authors introduce the most important controversial issues. To each of these they give an excellent general orientation, with enough material to enable the careful reader, if not always to decide on the evidence, at least to see what sort of issue is

at stake and what kinds of evidence are available. This feature of the book will be especially useful in bringing these problems to the attention of some of the many non-specialists who make use of pre-Socratic material, and perhaps reducing the incidence of errors, quackeries and out-dated interpretations.

The book is beautifully printed and bound, and remarkably free of misprints and other technical errors.

EDWIN L. MINAR, JR.

DePauw University

¹ For criticism of this analysis, see my review, *CJ* 46 (1950) 94-96; G. Vlastos, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 29-33; N. B. Booth's articles in *Phronesis* 2 (1957) 1-6, 90-103.

² Cambridge, 1954; G. Vlastos, *AJP* 76 (1955) 310-13; 337-48.

³ For a summary of the arguments pro and con, see Kirk, *Heraclitus*, pp. 335 ff. A recent defence of the *ekpurosis*-theory is given by R. Mondolfo, *Phronesis* 3 (1958) 75-82.

Greece, by JEANNE and GEORGES ROUX. Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books, 1958. Pp. 253, 165 illustrations. \$8.00.

THE FINE SERIES *Les Beaux Pays*, of which this volume is the latest member, could never have maintained its claims unless it included Greece, surely one of the most strikingly varied and beautiful countries in the world. In this book it has done its duty well, and though there are many other fine books on Greece, the present volume will be widely welcomed for its admirable combination of text and illustrations and its wide coverage of all major divisions and aspects of Greece both old and new.

The abundant illustrations are all excellent, many of them outstanding. Taken from many sources, they are splendidly reproduced: large, clear, attractively arranged. These are the book's greatest merit. The brilliant colors of Greece, and its uniquely beautiful sea and sky, are of course not captured. That is only another way in which this splendid survey of ancient and modern Greece will serve to make its readers want to see that remarkable land themselves.

The authors are admittedly not experts in Greek history and archeology. But they have studied well, and what they say is accurate and well put. Two errors detract from this: a reference on p. 39 to "the temple to Alcmeonides" at Delphi (meaning the temple of Apollo put up by the Alcmaeonid family), and a confused sentence on p. 40 about the "parapet of the

Erechtheum, the temple to Athena Nike" which intends to describe the sculpture on the Nike temple parapet on the acropolis' south-west edge. Perhaps both misstatements are due to faulty translation, as is the one on p. 138 that the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi "shelters" under its wooden entablature the flaxen cables from Xerxes' bridge over the Hellespont. That should be past tense. Unfortunately, neither cables nor entablature survive. The photo of the Athenian Agora on p. 67 is actually from the south-east, not a "West view."

The text is always interesting and sensible. Fine descriptions of scenery and human customs are frequent, and without straining for effect or the sentimental. A substantial background of historical facts is supplied, smoothly woven into the personal impressions of the various places visited. Artistic judgments are sound and moderate, and help considerably an appreciation of many sites. One can learn a great deal about Greece and its special qualities and significance from these pages and the admirably chosen photographs. It is not strictly a guide to Greece; but it would be a most illuminating preparation or companion for an extensive journey there.

Byzantine and modern aspects of the country's monuments and life are given adequate treatment, not only the classical period. Strangely little is said, though, of the notable frescoes at Mistra, though the Byzantine churches of Salonika get very suitable attention.

The authors enjoyed their long, intelligent exploration of Greece, and convey to the reader much of their trip's lasting educational value. They enjoyed the modern Greeks, too, who despite some qualities of insouciance which irk efficiently organized American travelers, are a lovable people. The Roux' perception of specific Greek traits is shrewd and sympathetic — the wonderful hospitality and sociability, the deep religious sense of most, the simplicity of needs and proud insistence on the equality of all men, the Mediterranean "horror of silence" — except at siesta time.

The translation, by Lionel and Miriam Kochan, reads naturally throughout. Unfortunately technical terms and proper names are very frequently mishandled. The publisher should have submitted the MS to someone conversant with accepted English usage in Greek names and terminology. So many errors of this sort will only confuse and hinder those using this book as an introduction, and irritate those who know better.

This volume will bring delight to many — for those who have been to Greece it

will recall exciting memories; for those who have not visited that fascinating land it will be an imaginary visit and anticipation. A pleasant state of mind for both groups!

RAYMOND V. SCHODER, S.J.

West Baden College

Athenian Democracy, by A. H. M. JONES, Oxford: Blackwell, 1957. Pp. vii, 198. 21s.

IN THIS INVALUABLE BOOK are collected four previously published papers and two new essays. The difficulty of obtaining reprints and the convenience of having six contributions to Athenian Democracy under a single cover fully justify Professor Jones' apologetic violation of what he calls "a principle to be reprobated." Historians and teachers will thank both him and Sir Basil Blackwell for it.

In "The Economic Basis of the Athenian Democracy" (*Past and Present* 1 [1952] 13-31) Jones combats two criticisms frequently leveled at Athens: that pay for magistrates

and juries was made possible only by tribute, and that leisure to perform political functions depended on the existence of slavery. Against the first he cites the Second Athenian Confederacy when, without tribute, pay was maintained from regular revenue. The second charge he attacks by examination of slave numbers and slave and free employment, and concludes that the majority of citizens worked and earned their own living. Though it is true that since slavery was not abolished the charge was never actually brought to the test, this careful essay is welcome ammunition against the careless charges so often brought against Athens by uninformed moralists and Christian sentimentalists.

"The Athens of Demosthenes" (*Inaugural Lecture*, Cambridge University Press, 1952) is a study of the people to whom Demosthenes spoke and the heavy odds against which he battled for democracy. The frequent charge that the Athenian common people were "an idle, cowardly, pleasure-loving crew, who would not fight or pay their taxes, but preferred to draw their dole at home" (p. 23) leads to a technical argument concerning the *eisphorá*, which Jones concludes was not a progressive tax, was assessed on

For day-in, day-out
classroom study:

USING LATIN I-II-III

a three-year series
of lively, teachable
Latin textbooks by

Gummere and Horn

For special reference
all year long:

ROMAN LIFE

a richly illustrated
"encyclopedia" of
Roman culture by

Mary Johnston

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY

Chicago 11 Atlanta 5 Dallas 2 Palo Alto Fair Lawn, N.J.

those liable in proportion to capital, and was paid by at least 6,000, whether rich or poor. Athenians did not shun military service as such, but did resent the financial hardships which 4th-century war economics imposed. True, the Assembly did not always vote the war-tax eagerly because normally the 6,000 liable were present in great numbers, and may even have been a majority. Only in extreme crises did the poorer classes attend and outvote those who would have to pay.

Most stimulating for the general reader is "The Athenian Democracy and Its Critics" (*Cambridge Historical Journal* 60 [1953] 1-26). Literature as a whole is hostile to, or at least critical of democracy, and actually is not representative of Athenian public opinion. Jones therefore tries to uncover what democratic political theory really was, its merits, on what a good constitution was based, and how far in practice Athens lived up to theory. He discusses the four major criticisms leveled at Athens by contemporary writers. 1) Too much liberty and free speech. But of this the Athenian democrat would actually be proud; his freedom of speech and action were highly valued and demonstrably true. 2) "It distributes a kind of equality to the equal and the unequal alike." Jones argues that to the democrat this is in reality equality before the law (such as was lost in 410) and in politics (the lot, but limited to eliminate the unfit, exclude generals, and equalize opportunity by pay), and became in other ways a limited egalitarianism (cf. Pericles in Thuc. 2. 37. 1 and Plato, *Menex*. 238c-d; Jones, p. 48) which places a premium on high esteem for merit. 3) The mass of the people are sovereign instead of the Law. Democratic theory is actually not so far from this oligarchic view, since alteration of law was not by mere vote of the Assembly. Jones argues convincingly that Athens in general lived up to the ideal of legal sovereignty, although with some well-known exceptions (Arginusae generals, some *graphai paranómo-n*). 4) The rule of the poor majority over the rich, and in their own interests (cf. especially the Old Oligarch) is not borne out by evidence, which clearly shows that prominent politicians are usually men of substance, and poor men (Phrynicus, Aeschines) rarely achieve political influence. Taxation of the rich, informers against them in court, and other methods of majority rule in self-interest are shown to be neither wholly convincing nor limited to democratic regimes. Finally, Jones argues that democratic behavior has been judged primarily by oligarchic standards and for this reason condemned (tyranny over allies, Mitylene, Melos, Sicily) chiefly because

Plato, Aristotle, and especially Thucydides hold Athens to a higher standard than non-democratic cities. The truer view, illustrated by many examples, is that Athens and democracy were no worse, no more stupid than non-democratic Sparta and others. Of Thucydides' evidence Jones feels strongly that since he was seeking an explanation of Athens' fall, "it was not enough to say that it was due to the folly of the democratic politicians. . . . It must have been deserved . . ." (p. 72). The absence of a coherent statement of the democratic case has left historians at the mercy of critics who saw only evil in democracy and painted the sovereignty of the people as pernicious.

"The Social Structure of Athens in the Fourth Century B.C." (*Economic History Review* 8 [1955] 141-55) is a technical examination of money values, tax eligibilities, and other sources of information on classes and personal wealth. Jones' conclusions, which have not been basically questioned since, show a total of c. 124,000 free persons, including c. 62,000 adults of which 21,000 were male citizens, plus c. 20,000 slaves. Sixty per cent of the 21,000 lived on small holdings of 5 acres or less and owned from 1 to 5 slaves. Nine thousand, with over 20 minae, were liable to hoplite service; of these, 6000 were assessed over 25 minae and eligible for the *eisphorá*, but the extremely wealthy Three Hundred (owning upwards of 15 talents, and responsible for collection of the *eisphorá*) force the average wealth down so that more than half of the 6000 would own but 25-30 minae. Wealth was chiefly in land (less often banking, slaves, silver mining, mercenary service). But society in general shows a sufficiently even distribution of wealth to explain the conservatism and stability of Athens in contrast to other cities where there were frequent calls for redistribution of land, cancellation of debt and liberation of slaves. This economy was maintained in spite of the unbalance of trade by which Athenians paid in silver (less often in goods) and were unconcerned where her merchants bought or sold provided they brought in grain, lumber and pitch.

Jones' first new essay, "How Did the Athenian Democracy Work?" is a careful examination of the multiplicity of boards, commissions, magistrates, procedures, and the responsibilities of private citizens, which seem to make for utter confusion, but which somehow functioned efficiently and utilized the participation of many quite humble citizens. He analyzes the operation of the Council of the 500 (where there were fewer poor than in the magistracies), its emphasis of democratic procedure, the As-

sembly (who and how many attended), and methods of reaching decisions in both (formulaic phraseology often reveals into which body a resolution was introduced). The conclusion, that the Council was not a policy-making body on major issues, but merely placed questions on the agenda for the Assembly from which emerged the resolution, is confirmed by the evidence of Thucydides and the Orators. Laws, on the other hand, were subject to rather more complicated procedures of annual review, but still citizens and the Assembly were the basic policy-making agent. The Generals, often regarded as a sort of policy board, Jones shows to have had no constitutional prerogative raising them above the ordinary citizen; even Pericles' power rested solely on popularity and demonstrated leadership. In the 4th century semi-professional politicians created no political parties in the modern sense, but merely made a business of being able to give informed advice. Although such men were more prominent in office than in the 5th century, the conclusion is "inevitable that Athenian policy was really determined by mass meeting of the citizens on the advice of anyone who could win the people's ear" (p. 132).

The appendix, "The Citizen Population of Athens During the Peloponnesian War," is a re-examination of the familiar problems arising from Thucydides' hoplite figures for 458 (1. 107. 5) and for 431 (2. 13. 6-8). After refuting others' interpretations, particularly those of Gomme, Jones argues to support Thucydides and estimates 23,000, of which 14,000 were in the 20-29 age group, 7,000 between 40-59, and 2,000 ephesbes. The major difficulty is the great increase from 458, when a "full force" hoplite army was only 14,000. Jones finds many reasons for the increase: the proportion of the population liable for hoplite service swelled greatly in the intervening years because of the real increase in personal and house property and the apparent increase in the value of all property. He further proposes the theory, arguing from many passages in Thucydides and in the Tribute Lists, that as many as 3,000-4,000 Athenian cleruchs remained in Athens, owning their cleruchies *in absentia*, and therefore did serve in the regular field army (not cleruch garrisons) like any other hoplite. Finally, the tremendous increase in the population as a whole and in national income (thus enlarging those of hoplite census), assisted by the drop in real value of the census figures because of rising prices — all these make the total of 23,000 for 431 very plausible.

Evidence later in the war shows a marked decrease in hoplites, although no figures are available for the total population. Casualties, the plague (especially among children, thus effecting a more lasting decrease), fall in prosperity, decline in productivity, loss of mines and revenue — these and many other factors explain smaller figures as the war went on.

Every teacher of Greek History and Civilization should read this clearly written, factual and scholarly picture of so many aspects of Athenian democracy that are rather glibly and often inaccurately overgeneralized in textbooks. Much of it could well be assigned for student reading. Aside from the conclusions themselves, students and teachers alike will profit greatly from noting the sort of evidence on which our knowledge actually rests, and how the niceties of fine judgment can be employed by a distinguished scholar in balancing this evidence. Rarely do the minutiae of historical method make such interesting, as well as informative, reading.

JOHN N. HOUGH

University of Colorado

Sappho. A New Translation, by MARY BARNARD. University of California Press, 1958. Pp. x, 114. Paper-bound, \$1.25.

IT IS A GOOD BET that the reader, turning to his favorite Sapphic lines as translated by Mary Barnard, will not be disappointed. Without hesitation I sought out the poem which is numbered 37 in this volume (Bergk 4, Edmonds 4 and 6, Haines 72) and was pleased to find

... incense
smokes on the altar, cold
streams murmur through the
apple branches, a young
rose thicket shades the ground
and quivering leaves pour
down deep sleep....

Miss Barnard has managed to render the Sapphic fragments into English with a clean simplicity and a very appropriate quiet intensity. In translating the poems she has "been careful to put into first lines, set off as titles, the supplementary phrases which are sometimes taken from the context in which the fragment was quoted, sometimes supplied . . . for the sake of elucidation, as a setting for the tiny fragment, or as a conjecture to supply the sense of missing lines." Number 4 (Bergk

59, Edmonds 126, Haines 98) is a good example by which one can gauge her success at interpolation:

I asked myself

What, Sappho, can
you give one who
has everything,
like Aphrodite?

She has, of course, supplied the words "I asked myself" and "can you give."

The translations are successful in their modernity and as poetry. The meters of Sappho are not approximated, but there is a sustained discipline of stanza and line notably defined by effective pauses. Miss Barnard has been intent to take account of Sappho's "fresh colloquial directness of speech." This results in some questionable locutions: "That hayseed in her hay-/seed finery"; "Hero, who was a girl/track star"; "hold back that/yapping tongue." But none are offensive or uncalled-for. Many are singularly and musically precise; for example,

Now the wedding you
asked for is over

and your wife is the
girl you asked for. . . .

There are "a good many" fragments which Miss Barnard has not tried to translate. To her credit it must be said that she has tried to translate any group of words, however slight, so long as they contain at least an echo of poetry's ring.

The poems are arranged in six parts, the first parts including those poems written by an obviously young Sappho, the last those written by an aging Sappho. Part two consists of eleven epithalamia. Miss Barnard has followed the text of Edmonds (Loeb Classical Library, 1922 and 1928). In matters of interpretation and biography she shows a preference for the ideas of C. M. Bowra.

ROY ARTHUR SWANSON

University of Minnesota

Euripides III: The Complete Greek Tragedies, edited by DAVID GRENE and RICHMOND LATTIMORE. The University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. 225. \$3.95.

THIS THIRD VOLUME of the plays of Euripides is also the seventh volume of *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, which are being edited by Professors Grene and Lattimore.

The format is as graceful and clean as always, and the translations, although uneven, still possess a uniformity of modern idiom which gives the series its claim to our attention. The plays included are: *Hecuba*, translated by William Arrowsmith; *Andromache*, by John Frederick Nims; *The Trojan Women*, by Richmond Lattimore; and *Ion*, by Ronald Frederick Willets. The translators have each supplied an introduction.

Professor Nims observes, in his introduction (p. 73) that "The author of *On the Sublime* finds Euripides nearly always among those writers who use current colloquial diction." Since the use of such diction is one of Mr. Lattimore's own poetic criteria, especially for translation, and since he is one of the leaders in this series of translations, the modern idiom is thoroughly appropriate here, much more so than in some of the recent translations of Aeschylus. It is to Mr. Lattimore's eternal credit that he has not, in his magnificent translation of the *Oresteia*, "jazzed up" the diction. The colloquial diction of the present volume makes the plays more immediately comprehensible to the modern reader than did the older Victorian versions; it does lead, however, to a flatness or woodenness that, although varying in degree from translator to translator, is never absent.

Of Mr. Lattimore's work little need be said. He is establishing himself as the translator-general of our age, and a most welcome change he is from his nineteenth-century predecessor, Theodore Alois Buckley (for whose manful literalness Samuel Butler alone characteristically found praise). The uniform intelligence, both philological and philosophical, with which Mr. Lattimore understands his texts, and the careful conveyance of the understanding, are always apparent, even when individual lines or passages are rendered into an awkward or un-idiomatic English. I must confess, however, that I am struck by the cryptic distinction made in the closing line of his introduction: "In candor, one can hardly call *The Trojan Women* a good piece of work, but it seems nevertheless to be a great tragedy."

Mr. Arrowsmith argues wittily and well in his remarks for the re-evaluation of the *Hecuba*; after 2,000 years of esteem, the play "fell into a profound disfavor" in the nineteenth century—"indeed, it is still cited by the handbooks, those tidy morgues of leached opinions, as one of the feeblest, if not the feeblest, of surviving Greek plays." Such pointed and vigorous use of language speaks well for the translation, which is very good. His meter is more

Harper
&
Brothers

announcements



ROMAN LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION

a revision of the famous text by George Howe and Gustavus Adolphus Harrer — now improved and presented in easier and more understandable form by

ALBERT SUSKIN
University of North Carolina

a companion volume to Howe and Harrer's **GREEK LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION**, Revised Edition by Preston Herschel Epps, *University of North Carolina*.

an important publishing event — now, once more, Harper's makes available this set — the two volumes that cover in carefully selected portions the entire Greek and Roman contributions to literature.

ROMAN LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION, Revised Edition, continues the grouping of translations under broadly chronological headings so that particular phases of Roman Life and Literature are presented in the translations of the Roman Authors whether they are of that period or later. In the revision, some less important authors have been dropped, and the more important writers (e.g. Lucretius and Virgil) have been presented in fuller scope. Newer and more readable translations have been substituted in many cases.

HARPER & BROTHERS
49 East 33d Street
New York 16, New York

traditional than the cadenced rhythms of Mr. Lattimore; it is an iambic pentameter Frostian in its looseness, but still recognizable. The diction is clear and sharp without being eccentrically and vulgarly colloquial.

The same conventionality of meter appears in Mr. Nims' translation. If his work is less successful as a piece of writing, the deficiency lies, I think, in the diction; for example, such a line as "His prospects, it appears, are none too rosy" (line 444) is colloquial enough, but is prosaic and flat. So too his use of contractions seems less natural than that of Mr. Arrowsmith. But the differences are ones of degree only; both men are working in the same idiom.

Mr. Willets' translation of the *Ion* falls somewhere in quality between those of Mr. Arrowsmith and Mr. Nims. The rhythms are clearly if not consistently iambic, and the diction is at once less sharp and vivid than that of Mr. Arrowsmith but also less prosaic than that of Mr. Nims. The result is a certain colorlessness — he does not remind you, as do the other two on occasion, that he is translating.

All in all this is a fine volume in its own right and a worthy member of the series.

JOHN CROSSETT

Hamilton College

Sizilien und Athen: Die Begegnung der attischen Macht mit den Westgriechen, by HERMANN WENTKER. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1956. Pp. 198. DM 12.

THIS BOOK deals with one of the most interesting topics of Greek history, and in an exhaustive presentation of the material (520 notes) gives the background of the most impressive single piece of ancient historiography, Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian Expedition. Behind the intricate mesh of political and personal relations between the Athenian and the Sicilian sphere the author works out two major themes: the foundations and growth of the Hellenic states in the Sicilian area (Akragas, Gela, Leontinoi, Rhegion and, the ruling power of the West, Syracuse); and the development of Athenian colonial policy with its growing concern for the western outpost of the Hellenic world, from Themistocles to Pericles.

There is a detailed analysis of the policy of the Sicilian *tύrannoι*, Hippocrates, Gelon, Theron and Hieron, concerning the native Siculi and the competing claims of the Hel-

lenic *pόleis* in the strife for hegemony, with Syracuse coming out on top. The author stresses very much the role played by the colonial aristocracy and the influence of traditional family bonds both in inter-Sicilian affairs and in the relations to the metropolis in the motherland. He tries to prove this paramount aristocratic influence also after the fall of the *tύrannoι*; this approach, not fully supported by our sources, also determines his picture of the greatest Syracusan statesman of the democratic period, Hermocrates. In several details one may reject the author's interpretations and conclusions; but he offers a good general picture of the competition for hegemony between Syracuse and Athens with its moves and countermoves (where alliances and counteralliances, attempts to win over the neutrals, and the utilization of local jealousies and discontent recall the different phases of what we now call the Cold War). In this context Corcyrean affairs, so important in Thucydides' analysis of the beginnings of the Peloponnesian War, are presented both from the viewpoint of political ethics (in the relations of the *apoikia* to the metropolis Corinth) and geopolitics (as a key both to Sicily and the Greek west coast). The discussion of Themistoclean, Periclean and Alcibiadean policies, while predominantly concerned with their relations to the western Greeks, offers some pertinent remarks on the general style of dynamic Athenian *realpolitik* as compared with Spartan lack of planning and initiative. In addition to the numerous notes and a register of persons and concepts, the book includes an index of all passages and inscriptions discussed.

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

Kansas Wesleyan University

From Mycenae to Homer, by T. B. L. WEBSTER. London: Methuen and Co., 1958. Pp. xvi, 312, 24 plates, 1 map.

HERE is an important book. The author's purpose is to survey the pre-Homeric Greek literature and art to show the relationship between these early traditions and the Homeric poems. Because he is doing something new, W. is necessarily led into historical and social byways. Thus we find in the first chapter not only an account of the Linear B script and an estimate of its suitability for literary effort, but also a discussion of the information that we may glean from the tablets regarding the Mycenaean social structure, labor force, land

tenure, war and offerings to the gods. This whole treatment is ordered within the framework of a comparison between these early Greek records and contemporary records from eastern sources such as Ugarit, Alalakh and Mari. Perhaps the most interesting observations on Linear B are, first, that it is suited to literary effort, secondly, that the uniformity of the script from one site to another suggests an early written communication among the Mycenaean centers and, finally, that references to land tenure in the existing records indicates an interest in and possibly writings on legal matters.

In the next three chapters the author treats Mycenaean art and poetry. He points first of all to the international character of this early art with its lions, cats, crested griffins and Egyptian dress. Here W. encounters the problem of how far the ideas in each case were borrowed along with the objects represented. He takes issue (pp. 33 f.), and perhaps rightly so, with Marinatos' interpretation of the "Cup of Nestor" and Persson's interpretation of the Aegean rings, stating that the artist would not borrow as much symbolism as these scholars suggest. Some transference of ideas, however, must be assumed.

Regarding style, W. has little to say except that in pottery painting there was a development from the naturalistic to the formal, while in the frescoes a naturalism was maintained. The subjects of Mycenaean art interest him much more, for these may also have been the subjects of Mycenaean poetry. He discusses the gods in human and aniconic form, and identifies with some justification Demeter, Athena, Hyperion, Paeion, Artemis, Poseidon and Zeus, and less convincingly Apollo, Dionysos and Ariadne. He concludes this section with a look at scenes of religious worship, war and musical performances.

The Mycenaean poetry, W. believes, was an intermediary between the other eastern poetries and the Homeric poems. The points of similarity between the latter's conventions and subject matter and those of the eastern poetry (Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite and Ugaritic) are the result of transmission by the Mycenaean. Early borrowing, as he calls it, consists in the first place of the mixing together of divine and human characters and secondly of repetitions resulting from court formalities, the letter form, the exigencies of formal orders, rhythm, conditions of performance and conditions of recording. Parallels in subject matter are the Gilgamesh-Ninsun and Achilles-*Thetis* relationships, while the friend-

ship of Achilles and Patroklos finds an earlier counterpart in that of Gilgamesh and Endiku. These alliances are so important to their respective poems that probably Homer borrowed them through a Mycenaean poetry. The parallels between the Gilgamesh Epic and the *Odyssey* are not nearly so striking.

W. does an admirable job of reconstructing the Mycenaean poetry, considering the little evidence which he has. Using what he considers to be reminiscences of this early literature in Homer, as well as the artistic representations that he has already treated, W. concludes: (1) the early poets used formulae of all kinds; (2) in their literature were to be found scenes of the king in peace and war, as well as domestic scenes; (3) heroes must have been present because their names appear in the tablets and also because Homer's knowledge of them is so complete as to presuppose a long heroic tradition; (4) there was a siege story inherited possibly from the Minoans to which these heroes had been attached and which was given a new Trojan framework in the thirteenth century; (5) further subject matter for poetry is suggested by the artistic representations of the Minotaur and other mythical creatures as well as the gods performing various tasks.

There were three kinds of songs in this early period, all of them short: cult songs, songs about great kings of the past and songs sung at banquets dealing with the international present. This last, the solo court style, gave rise to the Homeric epics.

W. now turns to the so-called Dark Ages. His reconstruction of the Ionian Migration is a masterful one. Here he blends myth, tradition and the evidence of archaeology, adds considerable careful interpretation, and presents a well-reasoned chronology for this period. After surveying the Mycenaean remains in Asia Minor, he comes to the conclusion that after the destruction of the mainland civilizations the mainland literary traditions were continued in the Greeks' new Ionian settlements with the Pylian-Attic strain dominant. Now also the feudal monarchies of earlier time began their development towards the classical city state with the degrading of the king to a priest or official, the rise of the aristocracy and a new city plan.

In the next chapter W. tells us that in these Dark Ages the three Mycenaean poetry forms probably continued, with the third form, the banquet solo, which was at all times largely improvised, becoming more important than the others. Evidences for Dark Age literature are drawn mainly

from the Homeric poems. The Mycenaean patronymic *-des*, the genitive ending *-oo*, which was a development between the Mycenaean *-oio* and the classical *-ou*, and cremation probably came to Homer from this period.

W. draws the subject matter of this pottery from the Attic Geometric pottery dated between 760 and 700 B.C. He sees, as others have before him, such scenes as the Aktorione-Molione doing battle with Nestor, Theseus fighting the Centaurs, as well as a number of the labors of Herakles. This is all very well if these interpretations are valid. However, such evaluation of Geometric subjects is at best tentative and dangerous. One cannot help but feel, however, that W. is right in thinking that the Dark Age poets brought the older stories up to date.

Logically, there follows a treatment of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery painting. Perhaps the author's own words (p. 205) will best convey the feeling that pervades this whole chapter: "Attic Geometric art should not be called primitive, although it has not the photographic realism which literary scholars appear to demand in painting. It is a highly sophisticated art with its own conventions, which serve its own purposes. As with the shapes and ornamentation, a revolution separates it from the late Mycenaean painting. In this revolution figures were reduced to their minimum silhouettes, and out of these minimum silhouettes a new art was built up. The silhouettes could be given a number of postures: they could stand, march, row, drive, fight, die, lament, or whatever else was required of them. But always their essential structure must be clear, and this is one of the legacies which remains in archaic and classical art,"

The final chapter deals with the relation of Homer to his immediate predecessors. From a survey of the late elements in the two poems, W. concludes that they are to be dated in the third quarter of the eighth century. Moreover, the addition of late elements by the author or authors had the purpose of bringing up to date and highlighting traditional stories. Again, the Homeric long similes are modern while the shorter ones seem old. The latter have the simple function of illustration, while the others, which are in some cases expansions of the Mycenaean short form, are in reality "working models" of the situations which they describe. Finally, Homer inherited certain typical scenes from his predecessors—activities such as visiting, eating, going to bed, landing from the sea, arming and the like.

The author tends towards a written composition for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, for each forms a unity and is of a size that is "difficult to associate with oral composition." He goes on to show, using Myres' well-known efforts as a basis, how they in structure resemble the Geometric figure pottery. He believes also that these poems were performed by a continuous recital of relays of bards and that they may well have been recited at eighth-century festivals at Delos (*Odyssey*) and at Mykale (*Iliad*). Even if the poet composed them orally, then, they must have been written down for the reciters, and W. would like to place the invention of the alphabet around 850.

Throughout his discussion he has treated the two Homeric poems as if they were written by the same poet. In the final section of this last chapter he approaches the problem of authorship. Here he takes issue with Page, and attempts to show that one was not composed in isolation from the other. He says, rather, that there is a strong possibility that one poet may have been responsible for both poems, although he does not preclude the possibility of separate poets whose lives overlapped.

The usefulness of this book is completed by an excellent conclusion followed by an index and a series of plates. Among the latter are most of the better-known works of early Greek art: the siege vase from Mycenae, Hagia Triada sarcophagus, Warrior Vase, Pylos Throne Room frescoes, Harvester vase and the more impressive of the Attic Geometric funeral vases.

The above summary may serve to show the scope of this book, but it cannot convey any idea of the wealth of detail and scholarly interpretation that it contains. The footnotes together make up a comprehensive bibliography of the whole period. On every page W. calls on his wide knowledge and excellent critical powers to solve one problem or another. Because extensive interpretation is involved, there is much of a controversial nature in this book. Some will take issue with the writer's evaluation of the subjects of Mycenaean art, and others will find fault with his view that Ariadne had a place in Mycenaean theology. Perhaps more will criticize him for drawing too much meaning from Geometric scenes. But these controversial points underline the importance of this study. For they show that the author has sidestepped no problem that he believes at all soluble. And this period is fraught with problems. In this sense, then, as the publishers suggest, this is surely a "pioneer book."

E. S. RAMAGE

Indiana University

CAMWS TREASURER'S REPORT

1. GENERAL FUND	
Balance, June 30, 1957	
1st National Bank	7,272.55
U. of Colo. Acc't.	597.57
	<u>7,870.12</u>
Receipts, 1957-58 (Schedule A)	
	16,640.97
	<u>24,511.09</u>
Disbursements, 1957-58 (Schedule B)	
	16,317.87
Balance, June 30, 1958	
1st National Bank	8,413.53
U. of Colo. Acc't. (debit)	—220.31
Balance, June 30, 1958	8,193.22
Net increase in cash	323.10
Schedule A: Receipts	
Receipts for CAMWS:	
Memberships and Subscriptions	11,788.13
Back Issues, Reprints	714.53
Advertising	905.19
Receipts for <i>Index</i>	790.20
Convention balance	29.78
Miscellaneous	45.34
	<u>14,273.17</u>
Receipts on Account:	
<i>Classical Outlook</i>	494.15
<i>Classical World</i>	1,398.60
<i>Classical Philology</i>	309.00
<i>Classical Bulletin</i>	166.05
	<u>2,367.80</u>
Total Receipts	<u>16,640.97</u>
Schedule B: Disbursements	
Expenses of CAMWS:	
Printing <i>Journal</i>	9,594.87
Postage and Office Supplies	834.08
Clerical Salaries	1,507.00
V-P, Committee and So. Section	89.27
Auditing and Bonding	32.68
Refunds for <i>Index I</i> , Bank Fees	49.02
Convention Expenses, after meeting	62.50
<i>Index</i> , Editor	750.00
Miscellaneous	118.40
	<u>13,037.82</u>
Remittances to:	
<i>Classical Outlook</i>	735.10
<i>Classical World</i>	1,786.90
<i>Classical Philology</i>	520.00
<i>Classical Bulletin</i>	238.05
	<u>3,280.05</u>
Total Disbursements	<u>16,317.87</u>

2. SEMPLE SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Principal:	
U. S. Gov. Bond	5,000.00
Savings Acc't.,	
1st Nat'l. Bk.	3,900.00
	<u>8,900.00</u>
Cash Account (1st Nat'l. Bk.):	
Balance, June 30, 1957:	
Principal	3,900.00
Cash	7.38
	<u>3,907.38</u>
Receipts:	
Interest on Bond	162.50
Interest on Acc't.	100.21
	<u>262.71</u>
Total	<u>4,170.09</u>
Disbursement:	
1958 Scholarship	<u>250.00</u>
Balance, June 30, 1958:	
Principal	3,900.00
Cash	20.09
	<u>3,920.09</u>
3. RESERVE FUND (Boulder Savings and Loan Association)	
Balance, June 30, 1957	1,960.13
Interest, 1957-58	79.19
Balance, June 30, 1958	<u>2,039.32</u>

JOHN N. HOUGH, Treasurer

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING of the Classical Association of New England will be held at Boston College on April 3 and 4. At the Friday morning session papers will be read by Prof. Kevin B. Herbert of Bowdoin College, Dr. Joseph P. Maguire of Boston College, Rev. Walter M. Hayes, s.j., of Harvard University, and Miss Margaret Neville of St. Catherine's School, Richmond, Va. On Friday afternoon, following the annual Business Meeting, Rev. Raymond V. Schoder, s.j., of West Baden College, Indiana, will show his slides on Roman North Africa, after which Prof. C. Bradford Welles of Yale University will lead a panel workshop, demonstrating the interest to be found in papyri of the Ptolemaic period.

The program on Friday evening will be devoted to an Academic Specimen, in which two Boston College honors students will be questioned on Tacitus by a panel of experts.

The Saturday morning session will have four papers on pedagogical subjects by Mr. Norris M. Getty of Groton School, Dr. Goodwin B. Beach of Trinity College, Miss Mary

A. Barrett of Torrington (Conn.) High School, and Rev. Joseph A. Murphy, S.J., of Fairfield University. These will be followed by three illustrated lectures given by Prof. Barbara P. McCarthy of Wellesley College, Prof. Francis R. Walton of Florida State University, and Mr. Howard T. Easton of Phillips Exeter Academy. After lunch, members and guests will be afforded a special opportunity to take guided tours of the exhibits at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, under the general supervision of Mr. Cornelius C. Vermeule III, Curator of Classical Art.

Detailed programs will be mailed to members about March 15. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary, Prof. Claude W. Barlow, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY will offer its Fifth Latin Workshop, June 15—July 3. The program will consist of five groups treating aspects of language, literature and archeology, from which the individual may choose according to interest and need. One group will study

the problems involved in developing a Latin program for the seventh grade.

The Workshop may be audited or taken for three hours of graduate credit. Other courses available in the full-length summer session (June 13—August 7) may be combined with the Workshop for a total of 5-8 credits.

Detailed information is available from Prof. Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Dept. of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington.

TUFTS UNIVERSITY THEATRE will present Sophocles' *Electra* in a new translation by Van L. Johnson at the Tufts Arena Theatre, April 16-18 and 23-25. For reservations, write the Tufts Arena Theatre, Medford 55, Mass., or call SOMerset 6-9662 on the Boston exchange.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL of Linguistics to be held by the Canadian Linguistic Association and the University of Alberta (July 6—August 14) is fully described, in a bulletin available from Dr. E. Reinhold, Director, Summer School of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published eight times a year, from October through May.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

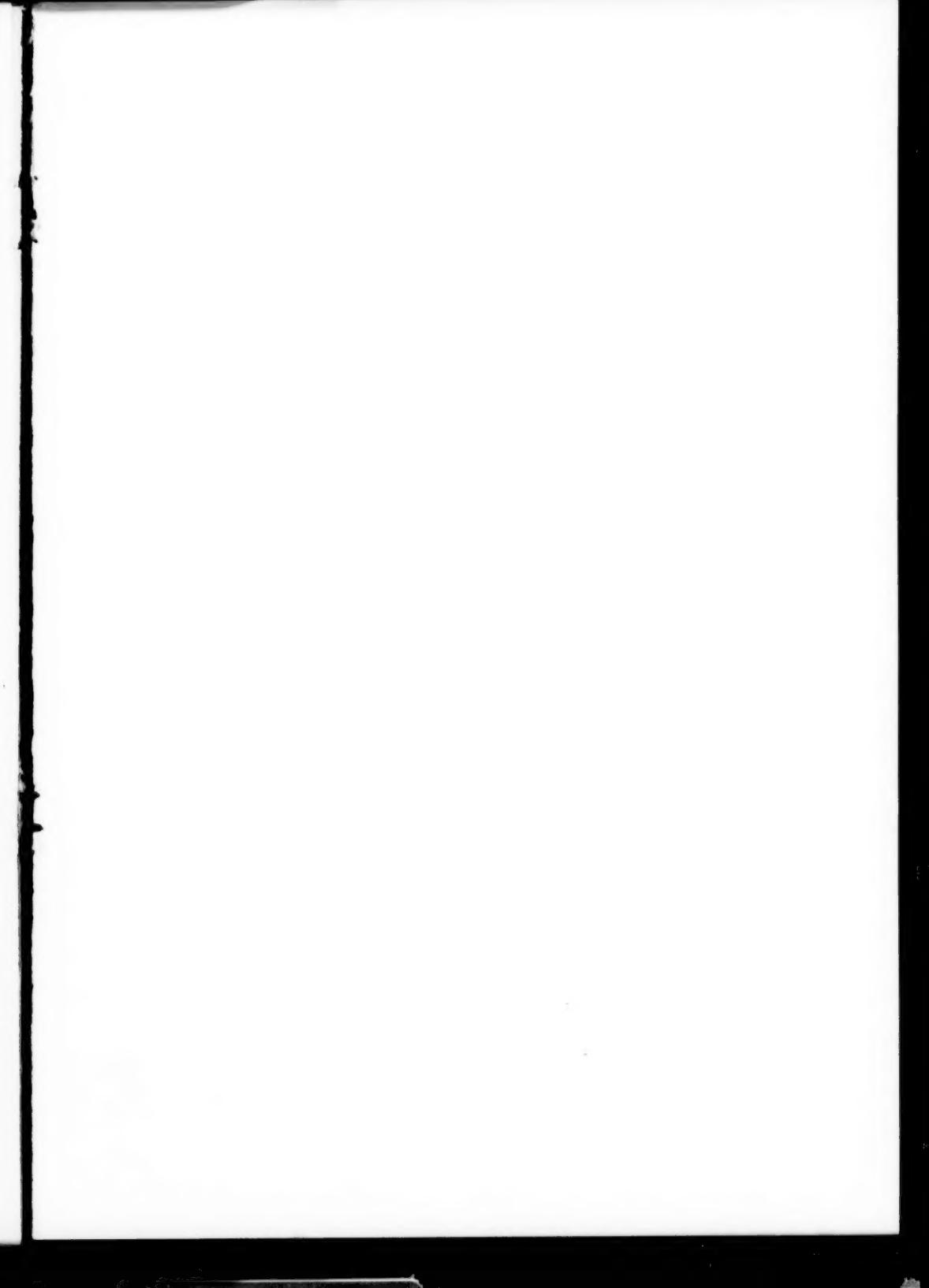
The general price is \$3.75 (U.S.A.), \$4.00 (foreign). Single copies 60c (U.S.A.), 65c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single-copy rate. Subscriptions may be taken through one of the regional associations listed below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$3.75. Members may receive also the *CLASSICAL OUTLOOK* and *CLASSICAL WORLD*; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of taking either the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* or *CLASSICAL WORLD*.

MEMBERSHIPS

Address the secretary-treasurer of the appropriate regional association. CAMWS, JOHN N. HOUGH, 8E Hellens Bldg., University of Colorado, Boulder. CANE, CLAUDE W. BARLOW, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. CAAS, F. GORDON STOCKIN, Houghton College, Houghton, N.Y. CAPS (Northern), JOHN CAVERS, Ballard H.S., 1418 W. 65th St., Seattle, Wash. (Central), EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, Grant Union H.S., Del Paso Heights, Cal. (Southern), MRS. LOUISE M. J. JONES, P.O. Box 85, Edwards, Cal.

CORRESPONDENCE

All general editorial correspondence, MSS, etc. to NORMAN T. PRATT, JR., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington. Departmental material to the proper editors. MSS from the Atlantic, New England, and Pacific states to these regional editors. Concerning subscriptions and details of circulation to PROFESSOR HOUGH (address above). On advertising and other business items to MRS. MILDRED H. MOSLEY, 214 Poplar St., Winnetka, Ill.



THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL